

GANDHĀRAN ART
IN PAKISTAN

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Gai Collection, Peshawar *Head of the Buddha.* 18¼"

GANDHĀRAN ART IN PAKISTAN

With 577 illustrations

photographed by Islay Lyons

and 77 pictures from other sources

Introduction and Descriptive Catalogue

by Harald Ingholt

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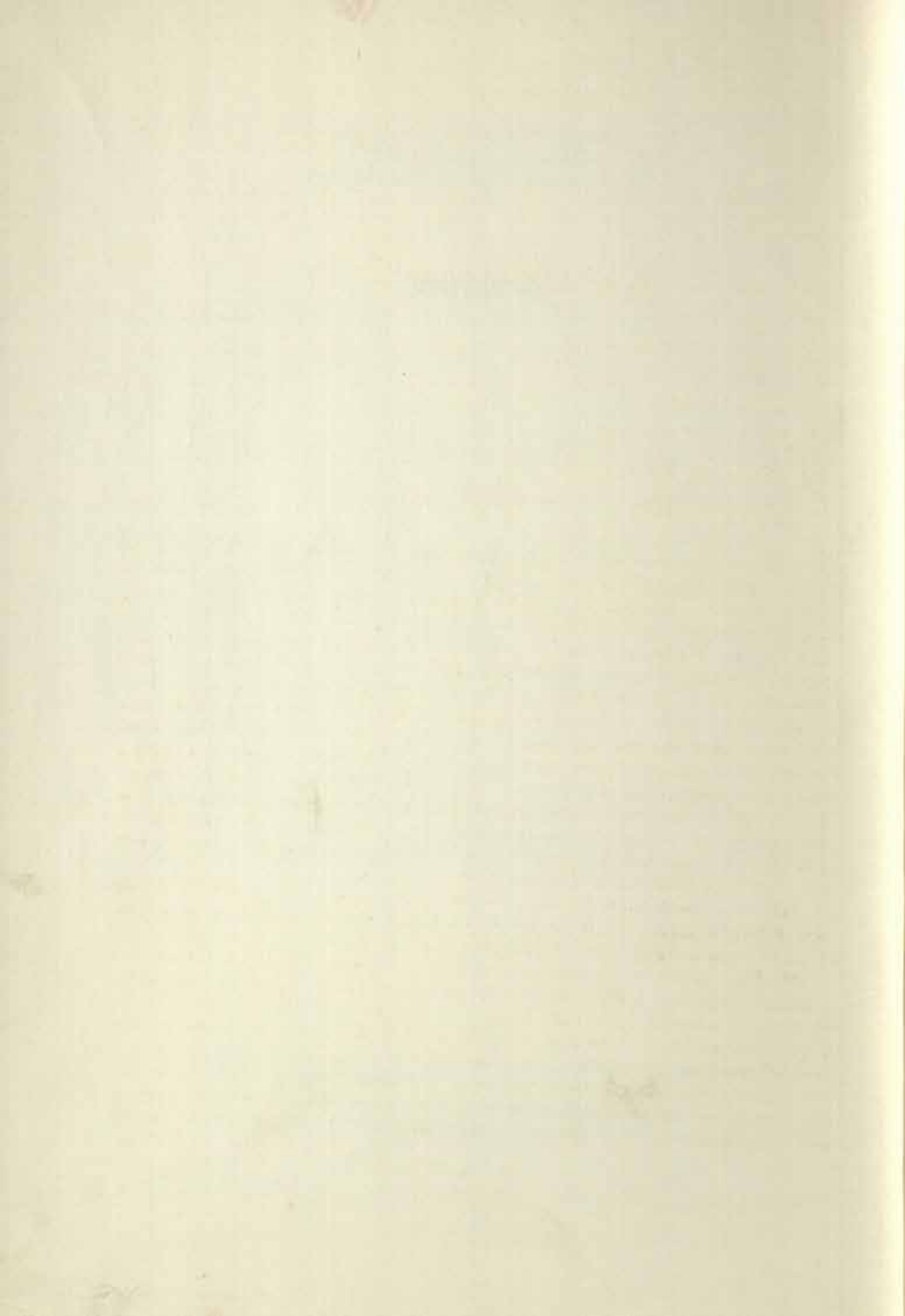
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for BRYHER



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks are due, above all, to my two companions, for without them this book would not have been brought into existence: together we made the long voyages to Gandhāra, by air, motorcar, tonga, and on foot, but especially by tonga, and shared our personal discovery of the land and its art which Grousset supposed once to have resembled a new Hellas. We sat of a Sabine summer noon talking of the Oriental trade routes of antiquity, and I tried to describe a certain Buddha head, part Indian, part Greek, loved and coveted in vain years ago in Delhi. Had I not read W. W. Tarn? That was the beginning. Tarn, Grousset, Arthur Waley, Sir Aurel Stein, McCrindle, R. E. M. Wheeler, one led to the other, and I like to acknowledge them, Sir John Marshall, Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, the magnificent Foucher, Ghirshman and Hackin—there seemed to be no shortage of books on Gandhāra, though they were scarce items, difficult to find, and almost invariably poorly illustrated. Thus it is also for the weighted bookshelf that I am grateful to my companions, as well as for their encouragement, good counsel, and active help in obtaining the photographs in this book: to Bryher, the simple dedication; to Kenneth Macpherson, thanks for a thankless task, namely, searching through dusty archives and listing information.

We are indebted to the Director of Archaeology in Pakistan for permission to take most of the photographs, and, for the rest, to Mr. K. A. Gai of Peshawar, who generously allowed his important and hitherto unphotographed private collection to be recorded.

Mr. Fazal Qadir was of exceptional assistance first in Karachi and then at Taxila on our second visit to Pakistan. I should like to record my obligation to Mr. Aga Muhammad Ali for his kindly co-operation during many weeks in the "House of Wonders" in Lahore, to Mr. Jaffri, his assistant, and to Mr. Mohd. Wali-ullah Khan, Superintendent of Archaeology, Old Fort, Lahore. I have also to thank Mr. Harunur Rashid for his valued help during my first visit to Taxila, and Mr. S. A. Naqui, Curator of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi; and I should not wish these photographs to be published without acknowledging my deep debt of gratitude to Mr. M. A. Shakur, Curator at Peshawar, who gave freely of his valuable

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time to further our project. Nor would this little note be complete without thanks being given to the many members of their staffs of humble rank for their willing assistance and patience both in the museums and at the sites.

Lastly, to Messrs. Zaidi, The Mall, Lahore, for developing my negatives throughout the expeditions, sincerest gratitude.

Anticoli Corrado, Italy

1957

Islay Lyons

One sunny morning in the fall of 1954 my colleague at Yale, Professor Norman H. Pearson, asked me to have a look at a collection of photographs from Gandhāran sculptures. I saw then the first batch of the excellent photographs taken by Mr. Lyons in the museums of Pakistan. When I expressed the wish that these valuable documents might be published, I was soon asked to write an Introduction to them. To make a long story short, Mr. Lyons went back to Pakistan, took another batch of pictures, at the same time undertaking the arduous task of measuring and noting down inventory numbers of all the objects photographed. It was agreed that besides the Introduction a catalogue should likewise be made, a work which was to take much more of my time than I had expected, so that there was less time left over for the more challenging work of the Introduction. Whatever be the deficiencies in one or the other, the photographs reproduced should make the study of Gandhāran art easier for future students in this fascinating field.

It remains for me to thank here also the many who have helped me with my task in various ways. To the Warburg Institute, the University of London, and Dr. Hugo Buchthal I am indebted for the loan of a set of photographs from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, from which the photos on Pls. XII, 2-3 and XV, 4, have been taken. Professor Benjamin Rowland, Harvard University, kindly furnished the prints used for Pl. II, 2-3, and Henri Seyrig, Director of the French Archaeological Institute in Beirut, presented me with the photograph illustrated on Pl. VI, 2. Dr. Myron B. Smith, Islamic Archives, Washington, placed at my disposal a print of the Sasanian relief illustrated on Pl. IX, 2, and Mr. F. St. George Spendlove, Curator, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, turned over to me the three photographs which appear on Pls. V, 1-2, and XVI, 4.

Furthermore, I owe a debt of gratitude to the owners of four private collections who have given me photographs with permission to publish them: Mr. Avery Brundage of Chicago (Pls. XI, 3; XII, 1, and XVI, 1), Mr. Hagop Kevorkian (Pl. XVII, 4) and Mr. S. H. Minkenhof (Pl. XV, 1), both of New York City, and Mr. and Mrs. Fred Olsen, Leete's Island, Conn. (Pl. XXII, 1). By far the largest number of the photographs illustrating the Introduction came, however, from public collections, and it is a pleasure, here too, to thank the following: the Director of the Byzantine Museum, Athens (Pl. XVIII, 1); Dr. Naji el Asil, Director General, Department of Antiquities, Baghdad (Pl. VII, 2); Miss Dorothy Kent Hill, Curator, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Pl. XIX, 2); Emir Maurice Chéhab, Musée National, Beirut (Pl. XVIII, 2); Dr. H. Härtel, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (Pls. V, 3; XII, 4; XVI, 1; XXII, 1, and XXIV, 1); the Director of the Museum of Cran-

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Special thanks go finally to Miss Dorothy Cox, New Haven, whose critical perusal of the catalogue removed many inconsistencies, and to my former student, Mr. Richard Brilliant, for many kindnesses of scholarship. To my wife I am deeply grateful for the countless ways in which she has helped the manuscript along.

New Haven, Connecticut

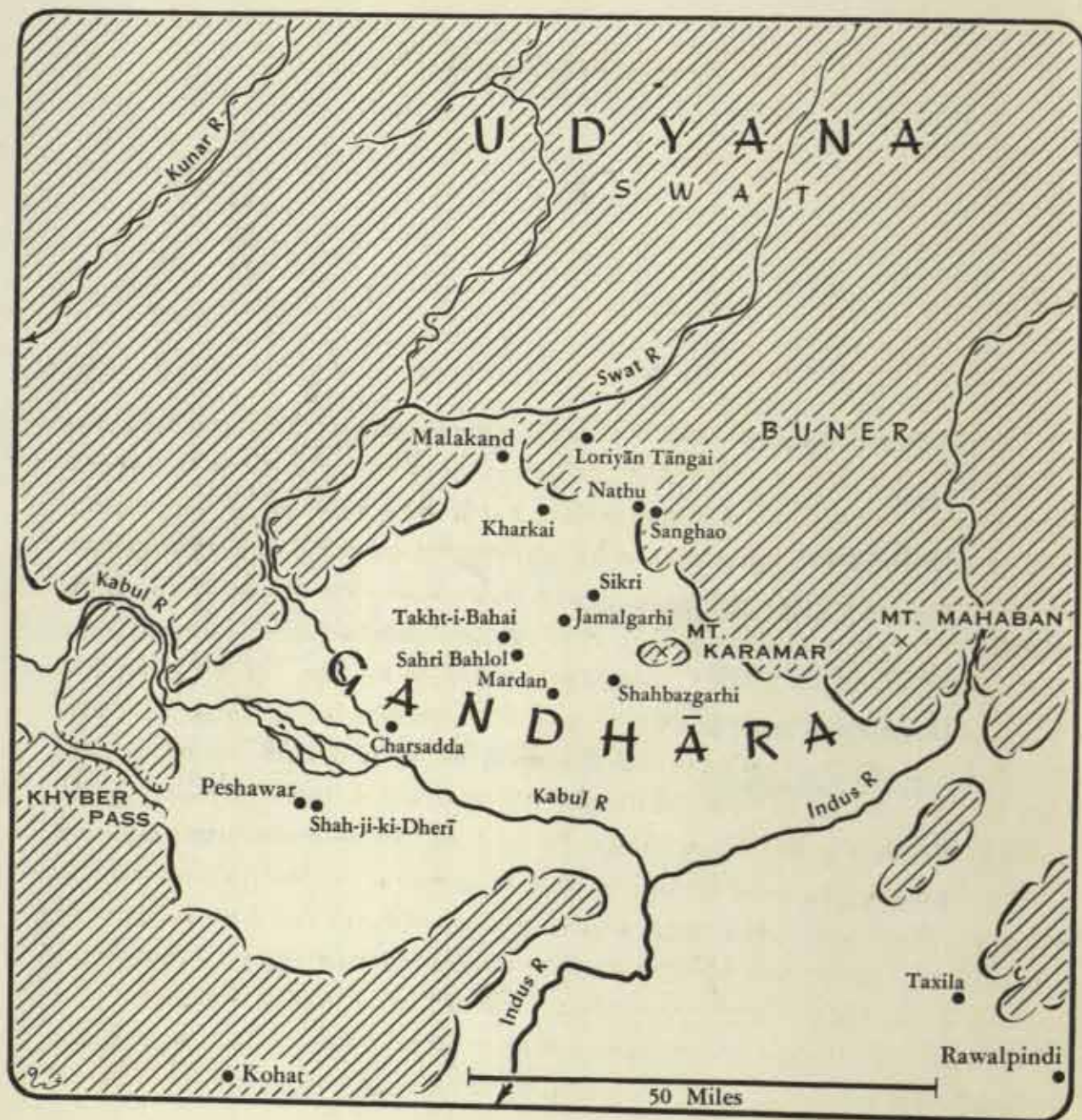
Harald Ingholt

1957

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T.C. & STUCCO 179



Map 1

INTRODUCTION

The term "Gandhāra" is met for the first time in the *Rigveda*, a collection of old Indian hymns going back to the second millennium B.C. Here, as in the texts from the Achaemenian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, it indicates a region on the northwestern frontier of India. It seems impossible to be more specific, not only because the information at hand is both scanty and vague, but also on account of the evident shifting of the boundaries during these centuries.¹ A clear-cut and detailed definition is found for the first time in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who visited the Buddhist sites in India in the early seventh century A.D. According to him, the kingdom of Gandhāra occupied what may be described in modern terms as the Peshawar Valley, including, however, the hilly districts of Swat and Buner to the north and extending on the east to the Indus River (see Map 1).² There seems to be no doubt that the territory thus delimited formed the core of the Gandhāra region. We shall, therefore, use the term "Gandhāra" in this geographical sense, adding some adjacent districts to the southeast, among them the city of Taxila. At the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit this important site was a dependency of Kashmir, but had previously shared the political and cultural fate of Gandhāra.³

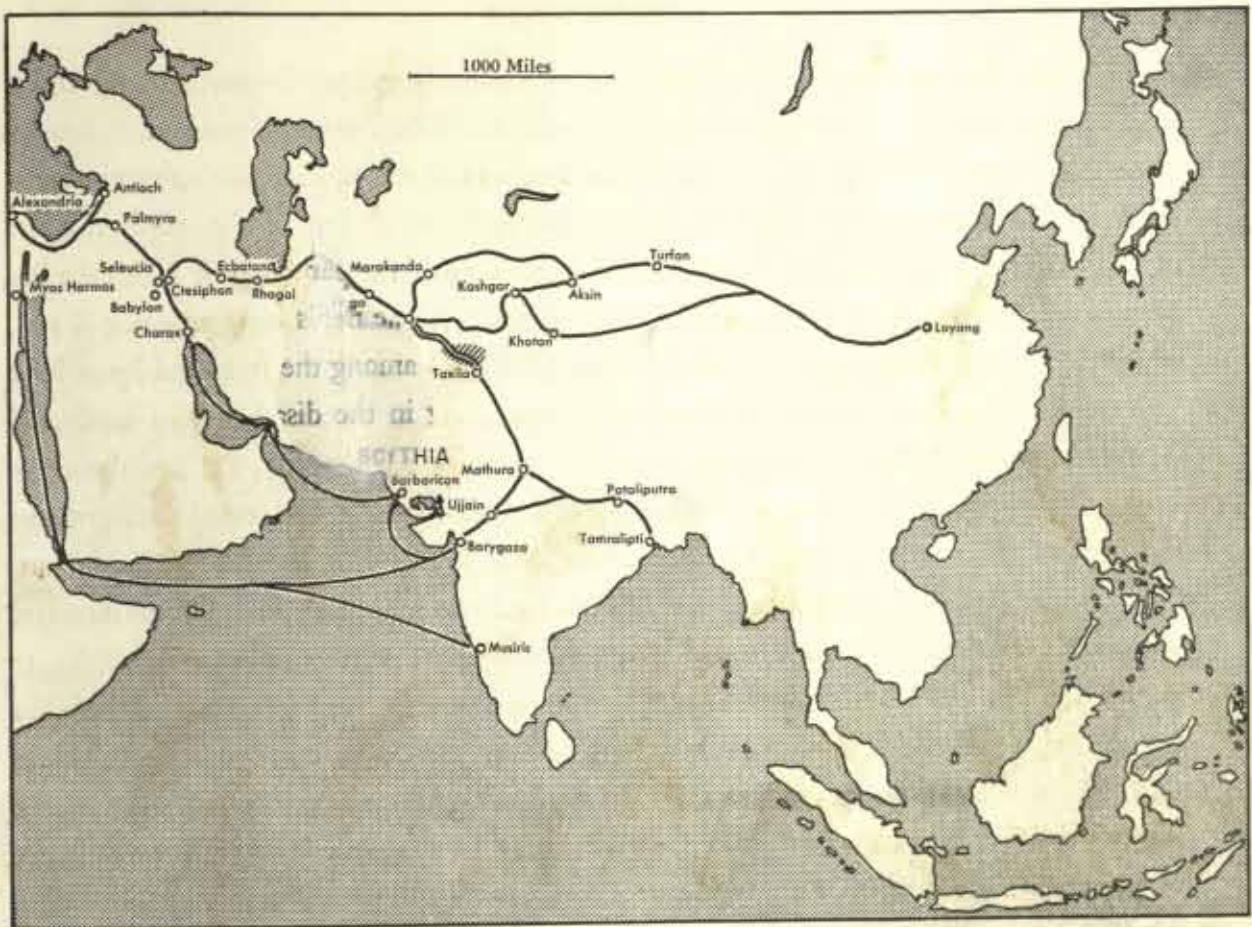
For an understanding of the various influences active in the development of the art of Gandhāra a knowledge of the geographical and historical background of the region is of primary importance.

To the north, the east, and the west Gandhāra is hemmed in by tall mountains (see Map 1), but to the south the flat Indus Valley spreads out for some seven hundred miles until it reaches the Indian Ocean. Under these conditions it would be natural to expect

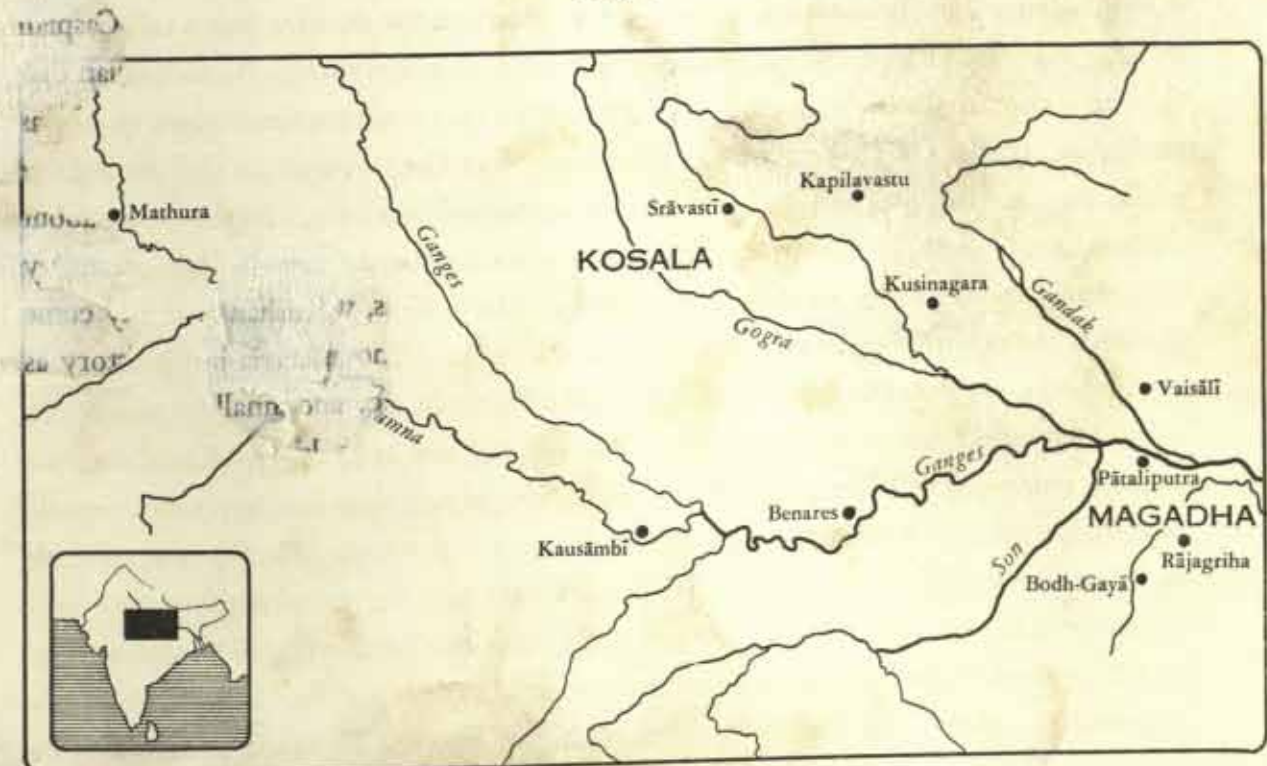
particularly close ties between Gandhāra and the South, if it were not for the fact that to the northeast the famous Khyber Pass connects Gandhāra with Afghanistan, thereby making it a link in the caravan trade route which, through the centuries, served as commercial and cultural medium between China and the West.

Gandhāra is first mentioned in historical literature as a part of the Achaemenian Empire in the time of Cyrus the Great (558-28 B.C.).⁴ In the Darius inscriptions (528-19) of King Darius the people of Gandhāra are mentioned as subject nations,⁵ and as soldiers of the Great King we find them participating in the disastrous campaigns of Xerxes against the Greeks in 480 and 479.

Gandhāra remained under Persian domination until it was conquered by Alexander the Great in 327-26 B.C. But it was under Greek rule for only about twenty years, until Alexander's successor Seleucus ceded it in the year 305 to the Indian King Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty. The most important of Chandragupta's successors was his grandson, Asoka (272-37 B.C.), who became a convert to the Buddhist religion, and under this Buddhist "Constantine" the people of Gandhāra, too, became followers of the Buddha. After the death of Asoka the Mauryan Empire disintegrated rapidly, and from about 190 B.C. on Gandhāra again came under the domination of foreign rulers. The first of these were Greeks who had pushed on from the neighboring kingdom of Bactria. They remained in Gandhāra until they fell before the attack of one of the many northern nomadic groups, in 90 B.C. These tribes roamed between the Aralo-Caspian water system to the west and the Pamir mountains to the east; they spoke an Iranian dialect and followed Iranian customs.⁶ The first to conquer Gandhāra were called the Sakas by the Greeks and were later to become intimately associated with Parthia. They were led by their king Maues, whose son Azes further consolidated the conquest. For about a century and a half the Sakas were able to maintain themselves in Gandhāra, but they were then supplanted by another similar group, the Kushāns, who came originally from as far east as the Kansu province in northwest China. Known in Chinese history as the Yueh-chi, they had been pushed westward about 175 B.C. and finally entered the Kabul Valley and Gandhāra by way of Bactria. The first two kings of this Kushān dynasty, Herais and Kujula Kadphises, materially enlarged the Kushān territory, and the conquest of Taxila was probably accomplished about A.D. 99 by Vima Kadphises, son of the latter.⁷ The most famous of Kushān rulers, however, was Vima's son Kanishka. His empire covered a truly vast area which stretched from Marga in the west to Khotan in the east, and northward to the southern shore of the Sea of Aral, including Choresmia and Sogdia (see Map 2). To the south it comprised present-day Afghanistan, the



Map 2



Map 3

whole Indus Valley, and the rest of the Indian peninsula except the southern tip and a strip of land roughly paralleling the eastern coastline.⁸ Like Asoka before him, Kanishka became a convert to Buddhism, and many monasteries and stūpas, tomblike structures containing relics of the Buddha or of Buddhist saints, testify to the zeal of the neophyte ruler in supporting his newly adopted faith. The exact date of the accession of Kanishka has been much debated, the opinions of competent scholars varying as widely as A.D. 78, 128, and 144.⁹ For twenty-one years Kanishka ruled the Kushān Empire, followed by at least two more kings of his own dynasty: his son Huvishka and, the last of the line, Vasudeva.¹⁰ This latter monarch had to contend with a new and formidable foe, the Sasanians, the new overlords of Persia. Under the leadership of Ardashir they had defeated the Parthians in 226, and under Ardashir's son and successor, Shapur I, they were able to annex Gandhāra, probably about A.D. 241. However, they did not attempt to rule this province directly, but some years later allowed a new dynasty, presumably related to that of Kanishka, to govern the land. These new Kushān rulers seem to have remained in power for about a century, three kings bearing names recalling those of the preceding dynasty: Vasudeva (II), Kanishka (II), and Vasudeva (III).¹¹ Originally able, no doubt, to rule only by the explicit recognition of the Sasanians, they were, nevertheless, quick to grasp any chance which might help them regain the power of the Kanishka dynasty, be it an alliance with the Romans or with pretenders to the Persian throne. But despite temporary successes, they were unable to throw off the yoke of the Sasanians, the decisive battle taking place in A.D. 340 when Shapur II defeated the last king of the dynasty, Vasudeva (III).¹² One important result of Shapur II's victory was the influx of Sasanian copper money to Gandhāra, which persisted to the end of the century and leaves no doubt that during that period the local currency in the northwest was controlled by Persia.¹³ Again the Sasanians were reluctant to take over directly and so in 358 recognized a new Kushān group, led by a certain Kidāra, as the rulers of the region. These Kidāra Kushāns, or the Little Kushāns, as they are sometimes called, had been forced out from Bactria just as the Sakas had pushed out the Greeks, and the Kushāns the Sakas. In their new habitat the Kidāra Kushāns showed the same undaunted spirit of independence as their post-Kanishka predecessors, rising not only against the Sasanians but also against their southern neighbors, the Guptas. But their successes, too, were short-termed and they were probably able to maintain themselves only until about 460, when Gandhāra with the rest of northwestern India was overrun by the White Huns, or Ephthalites, who carried ruin and destruction wherever they went.¹⁴ The Buddhist writings bear witness to the cruel treatment of those who professed the Buddhist faith. Whereas the Chinese traveller Fa-Hsien who visited the

Peshawar Valley shortly after A.D. 400 described the foundations of Kanishka and his successors as flourishing and well cared for,¹⁵ the picture had changed completely in the accounts of later pilgrims. The Chinese ambassador Sung-Yung passed through the country in 520 and noted that "two generations had elapsed since Gandhāra had been devastated by the Ye-tha [i.e., Ephthalites]." ¹⁶ Sung-Yung's characterization of the region is confirmed in the early seventh century by Hsüan-tsang, who found it in a ruinous, depopulated condition with most of the Buddhist establishments in a state of complete decay.¹⁷

Thus during the one thousand years which elapsed between the conquest of Cyrus and the arrival of the White Huns, Gandhāra was under native domination in only slightly over a hundred years of Mauryan rule (305-190 B.C.). Otherwise the country suffered a succession of foreign invaders: Achaemenian (558-327 B.C.), Greek (327-05), Bactrian (190-90), Sakan (90 B.C.-A.D. 64), and Kushān (64-460). To the influences exercised by these various occupying powers one must finally add that of the Sasanians who were in partial control during the post-Kanishka dynasties of the Kushāns (A.D. 240-460).

However, in spite of this succession of invaders, the bulk of the population remained Indian, faithful to the language and culture of their ancestors. The greatest unifying power was no doubt the Buddhist faith, which the Gandhārenes had adopted during the reign of Asoka (272-37 B.C.). This religion formed an unbreakable bond among the Gandhārenes themselves, as well as with the rest of India, and the artistic manifestations of that religion, as created in Gandhāra, materially strengthened these bonds and were to influence deeply the later Buddhist art both of Central Asia and also of China and Japan, Indochina and Indonesia.¹⁸ This art of Gandhāra is primarily a religious art, serving the Buddhist faith and doing it without the sensuality so frequent in other provinces of Indian art.¹⁹ On stūpas and in monasteries, sculptures and paintings brought before the eyes of the worshippers those important tenets of the religion which lent themselves to pictorial representation. The material chiefly employed by the sculptors was a kind of soft bluish stone, a clay-slate or schist, quarried from the hills of Swat and Buner to the north of Peshawar (see Map 1). The drum of a small stūpa from Sikri re-erected in the Museum of Lahore gives an excellent idea of the way in which the sculptural propaganda was carried out (Pl. I, 1),^{19a} each of its thirteen reliefs illustrating one of the significant events in the life of the Buddha (see Nos. 7-8, 36, 56, 60, 68, 70, 96, 104, 115, 126, 129, and 136).^{19b} Together with other similar reliefs, they provide a fair idea of how the Gandhāra sculptors conceived of his life.

We see him first in his earlier incarnations (Nos. 1-8), then the events preceding his birth, and that miraculous occurrence itself (Nos. 9-21). He was born near Kapila-

vastu, the capital of a small kingdom near the southern border of Nepal (see Map 3). His parents were the king and queen, Suddhodana and Māyā, and the name they gave him was Siddhārta.²⁰ According to tradition, he had on his body the thirty-two major signs of superhuman perfection which distinguished him from ordinary mortals. Most prominent among them were the protuberance, or *ushnisha*, on the top of his head and the *urna*, or tuft of hair, in the center of his forehead. There are scenes depicting his early years as Prince Siddhārta: his childhood, young manhood, and marriage (Nos. 22-35). In the reliefs representing his First Meditation (see Nos. 36 and 284) we catch the first glimpse of his deep concern with the problems of life and death. Amid a life of Oriental luxury in his palace (Nos. 38, 39 top) these unanswered questions kept pursuing him, until he finally decided to leave his wife and son, in order that in a solitary life he might find the answers to the enigma of life (Nos. 39-51). This was the night of the Renunciation and the Great Departure. The subsequent teaching of Brahman ascetics and the extreme austerities to which he subjected himself proved of no avail (Nos. 52-55), but he continued his wanderings and concentrated meditations until finally the *bodhi*, the Enlightenment, came to him (Nos. 56-66) six years after the Renunciation. From being a *Bodhisattva*, one who had reached that stage of development which assured him of obtaining the Enlightenment, he had now become the Buddha, the Enlightened One, at the same time attaining *nirvāṇa*, the passionless state in which man is free of all worldly desires, of bondage of all types. At the Deer Park of Sarnath he delivered his First Sermon (Nos. 75-79) and then, until his death at the age of eighty, wandered around the provinces of Magadha and Kosala (see Map 3), preaching his gospel to those who flocked to hear him. Its main points were: release from the endless cycle of rebirth; and salvation, not through the easier way of worship and sacrifice, but through a moral discipline, equally far from asceticism and indulgence. He and his disciples would rise at dawn, don their yellow robes, and then go from door to door begging for their food. Returning home, they ate their meal in common, regardless of caste. The heat of the day they spent in rest and meditation, but in the evening the villagers assembled and the Buddha would preach to them "in a manner suitable to their understanding." Religious discourse and the solution of human problems occupied the time until the first watch of the night, when all went to rest. During the rainy season, he retired with the monks to one of the retreats which had been given to them by pious donors and spent the time in study and preparation for their work.^{20a} A number of sculptures portray the outstanding events of his wanderings, some no doubt reflecting actual happenings, others illustrating scenes more or less marked by the golden weave of legends (Nos. 80-169). The death of the Buddha occurred at a village near the little town of

Kusinagara (see Map 3). Feeling his end approaching, he called his disciples together, and admonished and encouraged them, his last words being: "Behold now, brethren, I exhort you saying, Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence." With this he lapsed into unconsciousness and passed into *parinirvāṇa*, the existence which comes after earthly existence ends, and from which there is no return, no rebirth.^{20b}

Besides the sculptures illustrating the life of the Buddha, single statues or reliefs of him, either as standing or as seated, were also erected. A few portray him as Bodhisattva, wearing the luxurious costume of Prince Siddhārta (Nos. 276-82), but far more numerous are those representing him as he was after the Great Departure. The standing Buddha always has the right hand raised in the so-called *abhaya mudra*, the pose of reassurance (Nos. 195-228). For the seated Buddha the same gesture is used in a number of cases (Nos. 229-31), but more frequently one meets with two other poses. One of them is the gesture of meditation, the *dhyāna mudra*, in which the hands rest in the lap, all fingers extended and both palms turned upwards, the right one resting on the palm of the left (Nos. 232-44). The other is the *dharmacakra mudra*, the gesture of teaching, in which the right hand is held before the chest, the tips of the thumb and index fingers together and touching one of the fingers of the left hand, this latter being turned palm inwards (Nos. 245-61).

The costume of Bodhisattva Siddhārta shows the typical Indian *dhōṭī*, a skirtlike dress which is tied around the waist and hangs almost to the ground. Like the shawl which crosses the lower part of the body and is draped gracefully over the left shoulder, the *dhōṭī* too is either of silk or of muslin (e.g., No. 281). The costume of the Buddha which his monks adopted likewise includes a *dhōṭī*, but it is of wool, as are also the two other garments worn instead of the shawl. One is the *uttarāsanga*, corresponding to a sleeveless shirt or chiton, generally reaching down to just above the knees; the other is a robe, the Indian *sanghātī* (see, e.g., No. 206).²¹

Prince Siddhārta is not the only Bodhisattva portrayed in Gandhāran sculpture. Many other Bodhisattvas are represented in statues or reliefs (see Nos. 288-328), an interesting consequence of the religious development which took place after the death of the Buddha. This revised form of Buddhism was designated by its followers as the Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle (of salvation) as distinguished from the Hīnayāna or Small Vehicle, the term applied with some contempt to the earlier Buddhism.²² In Mahāyāna philosophy the two most important innovations centered around the nature of the Buddha, and the ethical ideal for which the believers were to strive. The Buddha came to be regarded no longer as a mortal, albeit a richly endowed, inspired teacher, but as a god, and the ideal of his fol-

lowers changed from *nirvāna* to the Bodhisattvas. In earlier Buddhism, the perfected saint abandons the world, seeking his own selfish *nirvāna* only, with no obligation beyond his own salvation. Mahāyāna Buddhism substitutes the ideal of the Bodhisattva, a being who, although he had obtained the Buddhahood, had renounced the goal of *nirvāna* in order to minister eternally to allaying the sufferings of mankind. The example of the Buddha was cited: one who had not chosen to spend his post-*nirvāna* years in splendid isolation but until his death had worked untiringly for the salvation of mankind. In imitation of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, the Mahāyāna Buddhist worked unceasingly to alleviate the sufferings of mankind, at the same time accumulating for himself some store of merit.²³ Among the host of Bodhisattvas one at least had been known in earlier Buddhism: Maitreya, the Buddha of the future who will descend from heaven at the end of the present time to preach the Law. Whereas his iconographical type seems fixed (see Nos. 285-312), we are rather in the dark as to the types of the others (Nos. 313-28).²⁴ To judge from the literature, the most popular of them was Avalokitesvara, the Lord of Compassion.²⁵ Mahāyāna Buddhism evidently grew strong under the Kanishka dynasty and was at a later time, but probably before the invasion of the White Huns, crystallized into a learned system, of which we can here but give the barest outline.²⁶ In the center was a self-created, primordial being, the Adi-Buddha, who not only created the world by his meditation but also the five *Dhyāni*, or divine *Buddhas*, passive of character, spending the time in deep meditation. From these *Dhyāni Buddhas* emanated five Bodhisattvas, mainly responsible for controlling and guiding the dynamic aspect of the cosmic forces. The human agents through whom the *Dhyāni Bodhisattvas* exercise their influence are the most exalted of human beings called the *Mamushi Buddhas*. In the time-cycle to which the Buddha Siddhārtha belonged, the *Dhyāni Buddha* was Amitābha and his Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (cf. No. 326) or Padmapāni (cf. No. 324). The *Mamushi Buddha* of the latter was the Buddha Siddhārtha himself, to be followed at the end of the time by Maitreya.

Non-Buddhist deities, too, are not lacking among the Gandhāran sculptures. The majority of these gods were, as might be expected, of Indian origin. Most prominently figure the Hindu gods Indra and Brahma (see, e.g., No. 16) and the faithful companion of the Buddha, the thunderbolt-carrying Vajrapāni (Nos. 333-37). They are joined by a number of minor deities, like Panchika and Hārītī, the god of riches and the goddess of fertility (Nos. 338-42, 344), the Nāgas, mythical serpent gods symbolic of water (see No. 349), the Garuda, a mythical sun-bird (Nos. 350-52), the *yakshas* and *yakshis*, male and female spirits associated with fertility (Nos. 359-62, 364), and two classes of celestial musicians, the *kinaras* (Nos. 366-68) and the *gandharvas*

(Nos. 363, 367). To the old Mesopotamian-Parthian pantheon belongs the goddess Nanaia (No. 442), whereas Farro and Ardoksho (Nos. 343, 345) probably are Kushān interpretations of Panchika and Hāriti. Finally, a considerable number of divinities are imports from the Greek world. Some are still pretty close to their distant prototypes: the river god (No. 392), Athena-Roma (No. 443), Harpocrates (No. 492), the centaur (No. 391), the Silenus (No. 397), and the stucco satyr (No. 560). In others one can, however, clearly see a growing Indianization, as in the Demeter-Hāriti (No. 347), the Atlantes (Nos. 381-87), the marine deities (Nos. 388-90, 393-95), and the amorini-*yakshas* (Nos. 369-80).

A number of the sculptures mentioned above give, in addition to the Buddha figure, interesting glimpses of the world around him, at least as seen by the Gandhāran sculptors. Many other reliefs, most of them fragments, help to round out the picture.

Portraits or likenesses of donors and worshippers figure on the Gandhāran sculptures, at the same time revealing different male and female costumes worn by the various ethnic groups which came to pay homage to the Buddha (Nos. 400-22, 424, 426). We see what the monks and the ascetics looked like (Nos. 423, 425, and 427-37), the wrestlers (No. 445) and the warriors (No. 444 and the stucco figure No. 561).

Elephants and lions are depicted on several reliefs (Nos. 450-58), and every now and then the sculptor gives samples of the contemporary architecture (Nos. 464-75). On several statue bases (e.g., Nos. 477-78) fire altars are represented, worshipped because they were emblematic of the Buddha. In great favor were the small toilet-trays of stone decorated with subjects, the Hellenistic character of which gradually loses its Western imprint (Nos. 479-88). They may, however, belong in a non-Buddhist context.

A few specimens are given of the metalworker's art, the principal piece being the so-called reliquary of Kanishka (Nos. 494-95).

Of the two final groups, the terra cottas (Nos. 497-514) and the stuccos (Nos. 515-77), the great majority represent Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. One stucco relief is of narrative character, depicting the birth of the Buddha (No. 516), but more numerous are the seated Buddha figures, singly or in rows, or heads only. Among the terra cottas one seated Buddha figure only (No. 497) is represented; among the stuccos are several Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas, all seated (Nos. 515, 517-25, and 563-64). Most often heads only have survived. Of very fine quality is a terra-cotta head of a Bodhisattva (No. 502) and of similar excellence two stucco heads of the Buddha (Nos. 532-33) and one of a Bodhisattva (No. 545). Three terra-cotta heads of a monk (No. 504), an ascetic (No. 505), and a youth (No. 508) are likewise worthy of special mention, as are also two stucco heads, both

portraying ascetics (Nos. 565, 570); three heads represent interesting non-Indian types (Nos. 567, 574-75). Four terra-cotta heads from Kashmir have been included because they were so obviously in the Gandhāra tradition. Two of them belong to Bodhisattvas (Nos. 506-07), two portray female donors (Nos. 513-14), and all may come from as late as the eighth century A.D.²⁷

Whereas there is general agreement as to what the Gandhāran sculptures represent, there is the strangest disagreement as to their chronology. In spite of the monumental work by the "Altmeister" of Gandhāran studies, Alfred Foucher, and the valuable contributions by scholars like Marshall, the distinguished excavator of Taxila, Bachhofer, Rowland, Buchthal, Wheeler, Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, and Soper, there are almost as many solutions as there are experts. There is no exaggeration in a recent writer's description of the present state of affairs in the following picturesque words: "There is no other period we can think of, in which, as on a battlefield, so many convictions of archaeologists have clashed, the ground is strewn so abundantly with the battered armors of outworn theories, the broken weapons of rejected hypotheses, and where at the same time the problems still awaiting solutions are so numerous, so defiant and seemingly so insolvable."²⁸

Under these circumstances it may seem audacious for the present author, who knows no Indian language and is not an expert in Indian archaeology, to enter the fray. On the other hand, he feels that whatever his acquaintance with the general field of Near Eastern archaeology may or may not contribute toward the solution of the Gandhāran problems, the photographic material here presented will be of lasting value and may, it is hoped, stimulate others to work in this promising field.

As no stratified Buddhist site in Gandhāra has been excavated, it is natural that, in order to establish a firm chronology, the main attention has been directed toward the few existing dated objects. Four of these are sculptures and one is a bronze reliquary. In the first category a standing Buddha from Loriyān Tāngai (Pls. I, 2, and II, 1), dated in the year 318, is considered the oldest.²⁹ But, unfortunately, we do not know what era is used. Vogel and Bachhofer proposed the Seleucid era, which began in 312 B.C. Foucher preferred the Mauryan era, with 321 B.C. as the initial year, whereas Rowland adopted a Sakan era starting in 150 B.C. Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw advocates an era beginning in 129 B.C., the year the Kushāns conquered Bactria; and Ghirshman, the Vikrama era, which began in 58 B.C., the year of accession of the Saka king Azes. These variations, all proposed by competent scholars, cover a stretch of 264 years, thus providing for this particular statue the following dates: 3 B.C., A.D. 6, 168, 189, and 261! Employing the same five systems, the standing Buddha from Hashtnagar (Pls. I, 3, and II, 2), dated in the year 384,³⁰ presents

a choice between A.D. 62/63, 72, 234, 255, and 327. The third sculpture, a statue of the goddess Hārītī (Pl. II, 3) from Skārah Dherī,^{30a} has a date generally interpreted as 399, which, according to the last four of these systems, gives the dates A.D. 87, 249, 270, and 342. With the fourth sculpture, a relief representing the visit of Indra to the Indrasāla cave (here No. 131), we run into additional difficulties because the date, "year 89," evidently is reckoned according to an era different from that employed in the three preceding sculptures. The generally adopted solution is to regard the era as that of King Kanishka; but even so we are not much better off since we do not know the year of his accession. According to Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, it was A.D. 78, whereas Marshall, Rowland, and Soper prefer A.D. 128/29, so that the relief is dated either A.D. 167 or 216.^{30b} We run into the same difficulty with the last of the dated pieces, the so-called bronze reliquary of Kanishka (here Nos. 494-95). According to its inscription as read by Konow the reliquary is dated "in the year 1 of (the maharāja) Kanishka,"^{30c} therefore either A.D. 78 (Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw), A.D. 128/29 (Rowland, Soper), or, if we follow the chronology of Ghirshman, A.D. 144. A reliquary from Bimarān in Afghanistan (Pl. III, 1)^{30d} is sometimes included among the dated objects because a number of coins of Azes I or II were found inside, thus dating the reliquary either in the neighborhood of 50 B.C. or in the first decades of the first century A.D.³¹ It is, however, now generally recognized that these coins only prove that the reliquary is later than the time of Azes.³²

Naturally, with such divergence in the interpretation of the dates, there are corresponding differences of opinion as to the course of development taken by the art of Gandhāra. It is generally accepted that the Buddhist civilization of Gandhāra came to an end in the latter half of the fifth century owing to the wholesale destruction by the White Huns. But, according to Marshall, the art of Gandhāra did not continue until then without interruption. Artistic activity ceased with the Sasanian conquest of the country, about 250, and it was not until 390 that the arrival of the Kidāra Kushāns from Bactria re-established conditions in which Buddhist art could again flourish. For sixty more years, *c.* 390-450, Buddhist artists were again busy, but instead of stone the principal media now were clay and stucco.³³ This view has been severely criticized by Wheeler,³⁴ and most recently both Soper³⁵ and Foucher³⁶ have likewise stressed the continuous artistic activity in Gandhāra even after the Sasanian conquest. There is thus general agreement on the terminal date of Gandhāran art, but the same is not the case with the beginnings. In older Indian sculpture the Buddha was represented by symbols only, but in Gandhāra he is portrayed in human form. Foucher has consistently defended the thesis that this first Buddha image owes its origin to Greek influence, having probably been made toward the end of the

Greco-Bactrian occupation of Gandhāra about 100 B.C.³⁷ This early date has, however, very little support. Bachhofer and Marshall, for example, while still adhering to the theory of Hellenistic origin, prefer a date more than 100 years later, i.e., in the first half of the first century A.D., when the Sakas ruled in Gandhāra.³⁸ Others, and these are in majority, ascribe the creation of the Buddha image to influences from the Roman Empire. Buchthal, for example, sees in the Buddha figure a copy of a Roman toga statue, perhaps even of Augustus³⁹ himself, whereas Soper rather stresses the influences from Roman workshops of the Hadrianic period.⁴⁰ Both Soper and Wheeler agree upon a date in the Antonine period, but where Wheeler thinks of imperial influences coming chiefly from Alexandria via the Red Sea,⁴¹ Soper suggests that a sculptor may have been brought from Rome to Peshawar and there initiated, or materially advanced, the art of Gandhāra.⁴²

Upon close analysis it will, no doubt, be seen that both in the "Greco-Buddhist" and in the "Romano-Buddhist" theory the Hellenistic strands were very active,⁴³ but there is still a difference of 250 years between the two extreme views!

✓ Absolute dating in sculpture is seldom feasible, except in isolated instances. We can only strive for a relative chronology. But in Gandhāra we are confronted with an obstacle which is not present in the sculpture of, say, Palmyra or Hatra. Whereas in each of these places one can count on one main school of art, probably with both conservative and liberal elements, in Gandhāra the different cities may have reacted differently to influences from the outside, and in addition, the larger villages probably reacted far more slowly to any changes in the accepted way of representing the Buddha and his life.

Eventually, when most of the presently unpublished material in various collections has been published, and when excavations have revealed sculptures which can be dated stratigraphically, we shall probably see clearly just how this art developed. In the meantime, having had the chance to examine a goodly number of photographs of Gandhāran sculpture, I shall venture a sketch of how, to my mind, that art may have grown.

It will be natural to start with an undisputed personification of the Buddha: that which occurs on certain coins of King Kanishka. Before discussing the coins, let us try to place Kanishka in time. Among the several solutions proposed the one put forward by Ghirshman⁴⁴ seems the most attractive, based as it is on a stratigraphic observation combined with epigraphic facts. At Begram, Ghirshman found that the city of his Level II had been conquered and destroyed, and that life there began again only after the lapse of some decades. Thanks to coins, the city of Level II could be identified with the city of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva, whereas the city of the following level, III, clearly belongs to the two Kushān dynasties which followed that of Kanishka. The destruction was most

probably wrought by the Sasanians, whose King Shapur I sometime between 241 and 251 was on the warpath in these regions.⁴⁵ In order to obtain an initial date for Kanishka's dynasty Ghirshman calls to mind the existence of a number of inscriptions dated in some year of one of the three Kushān kings belonging to the Kanishka dynasty.⁴⁶ These dates range from the year 1 to 98, so that it seems safe to conclude that the Kanishka dynasty lasted 98 years in all. Subtracting 98 from 241, Ghirshman arrives at the date of 144 for the accession of Kanishka, a deduction which, if not decisive, must be called very probable.⁴⁷ Since we know that Kanishka reigned for about 27 years, the coins are therefore datable to the period A.D. 144-73. Only one of them is of gold (Pl. III, 2).⁴⁸ It shows on the obverse King Kanishka standing in front of an altar, and on the reverse the Buddha. The latter is haloed and is clad in the *sanghāti*; the right hand is most likely lifted in the gesture of reassurance, and the left hand holds a fold of the drapery. To the left the inscription BOΔΔO establishes the identification with the Buddha. The other coins are all of copper. One has a similar design of Kanishka and the standing Buddha (Pl. III, 3),⁴⁹ whereas the reverses of the other two present an image of the seated Buddha, undoubtedly with the right hand raised in the pose of reassurance (Pl. III, 4, 5).⁵⁰ All four coins are extremely rare—the gold piece, in fact, unique. If one examines the other gold coins issued by King Kanishka, a rather astonishing fact emerges, namely, that they were not coined for the domestic but for the foreign trade. The inscriptions are entirely in Greek letters, and the gods portrayed on the obverses present a strange gallery of some thirty deities with Greek, Indian, and Iranian names, the greater part of them, however, being derived from Babylonia and Characene.⁵¹ Under the Kushāns that same monarch controlled both Gandhāra and the mouth of the Indus River. Since he also ruled what is now Afghanistan, he was in a position to divert the silk trade from China through the Khyber Pass down to Barbaricon at the mouth of the Indus River. From here the merchandise of the caravans could go the safer and cheaper way by sea up the Persian Gulf to Characene, the kingdom which controlled the Tigris-Euphrates delta (see Map 2). There is no doubt that much of the Kushān power was built on their role as successful intermediaries between the Chinese Pamirs and southern Mesopotamia.⁵² The Aramaic Kingdom of Characene belonged nominally at this time to Parthia, but whenever the Parthian overlords were heavily engaged elsewhere, the Characenes revolted.⁵³ During the reign of the Kushāns the Parthian monarchy was heavily engaged with the Romans, so that the Characenes and the Kushāns to their mutual advantage were able to carry on the trade. Interestingly, from just about this time, before and after A.D. 150, we find not only quite a number of Palmyrene inscriptions mentioning caravans from Palmyra to Charax in Characene,⁵⁴ but some even tell about

direct relations between Palmyra and the Kushān-controlled region around the mouth of the Indus River.⁵⁵ The shipping was undoubtedly a monopoly of the Characenes, but occasionally the Palmyrenes went along, a fact which they mention in their inscriptions. A fragmentary slab found at Palmyra in 1946 by my colleague Professor Frank Brown probably does represent one of these India-bound vessels, with a Palmyrene passenger standing at the stern (Pl. VI, 2).⁵⁶ Naturally, not only merchandise but also ideas travelled between the Kushān and the Characene kingdoms. We know that Kanishka was a convert to Buddhism, and that he favored the conservative Hinayāna version of Buddhism.⁵⁷ If the gold coin on which the Buddha is portrayed was coined before his conversion one may surmise that a Buddha image was created by royal fiat, but that it was not looked upon with favor after his conversion. If the coin in question was issued after Kanishka's conversion, it is likewise possible that it was Kanishka who ordered the image made. After all, these coins were not for domestic circulation. With such an active trade between India and Characene, and since the latter unquestionably shared the Greco-Parthian civilization of the rest of Mesopotamia, we should expect to find similarities between the sculpture of Gandhāra and that of Characene.

Probably belonging to this Kushān period and therefore to what I shall call Group I are four stair-riser reliefs, Nos. 411-14. Whereas the women on one relief are clad in Greek dress (No. 411), the men and women on the other three wear the native Indian costume. But common to them all is the treatment of the drapery, which is characterized by closely spaced, parallel lines and classical zigzag folds, the lack of overlapping, each person standing isolated, and the evident attempt to avoid frontal poses. Three additional reliefs—one in Cleveland (Pl. IV, 1),⁵⁸ one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Pl. IV, 2),⁵⁹ and one in Leiden (Pl. IV, 3)⁶⁰—reveal similar characteristics, the first two showing a more Greek, the Leiden slab a more Indian character. These reliefs may or may not belong in a Buddhist context, but a few sculptures have survived whose Buddhist character is incontrovertible. Two are stair-riser reliefs, one of which portrays the worship of the Buddha's turban (Pl. V, 1),⁶¹ the other the attempt of the ascetics to extinguish the fire in the fire temple at Uruvilva (Pl. V, 2).⁶² Here the Buddha himself is not portrayed, but on two reliefs mentioned in the catalogue (Nos. 54 and 59) the Enlightened himself is represented, once with an ascetic (No. 54) and raising his right hand in the gesture of reassurance, once with Svastika (No. 59), and both times accompanied by Vajrapāni. One Buddha, now in Berlin (Pl. V, 3),⁶³ has a mustache, very high *ushnisha*, bare feet, halo with incised circle near the edge, the right hand in the reassuring pose, and likewise is accompanied by Vajrapāni. These last three reliefs also

have the crowded drapery folds; in the Berlin Buddha both the pupil and the iris of the eyes are indicated in a plastic manner.⁶⁴ A Buddha of a different type, unbearded and with smaller *ushnīsha*, figures on a relief portraying the donation of the Jētavana Park to the Buddha (No. 95); but the treatment of the drapery and the stance recall the stair-riser reliefs. It will suffice to mention a few parallels to these Gandhāran sculptures, either late Hellenistic or Parthian. A sarcophagus from Palmyra, probably from the early third century A.D., shows six slaves or pages whose isolation and poses correspond to those of the worshippers or banqueters (Pl. VI, 3).⁶⁵ The marine gods on the Metropolitan Museum relief recall those on a sarcophagus of the second century A.D. found at Tell Barak, near Caesarea in Palestine (Pl. VI, 1),⁶⁶ the exaggerated abdominal muscles ultimately deriving from the tense bodies of Pergamon. Close Parthian parallels are furnished by the bronze statue from Shamī⁶⁷ (Pl. VII, 1) and the marble statue of the Hatrene Princess ŠPRY who died in A.D. 137 (Pl. VII, 2).⁶⁸ As this latter is a posthumous statue, a likeness therefore of one who now has more than ordinary powers, the raised right hand undoubtedly indicates a gesture of might and benediction, comparable to that of the Buddha in the pose of reassurance.⁶⁹ The lyre-shaped folds below the breasts recall a painted Victory from Dura (Pl. VIII, 2)⁷⁰ and also the goddess Roma (No. 443) whom we date to this time when relations between the Kushāns and Rome were especially close and friendly, both on commercial grounds and because of their common, inimical feelings toward the Parthians.⁷¹ The goddess Allat, portrayed on the left of a relief from the Palmyrene steppe (Pl. VIII, 1),^{71a} shows similar lyre-shaped folds, and her high-belted chiton and the arrangement of the himation recall some of the stair risers mentioned above (No. 411 and Pl. IV, 1). A relief from Hatra represents the same goddess Allat, standing above a lion, flanked by two other goddesses (Pl. VIII, 3).⁷² The closely spaced folds, some in zigzag, are reminiscent of such stair-riser reliefs as Nos. 412 and 414 and Pl. IV, 3.

The Hatra parallels are chronologically very significant, as they all date from the time before the destruction of the city in A.D. 241 by Shapur I, the terminal date also of our Group I. But already around 224 the Parthian Empire had been overthrown by Ardashir I of the house of the Sasanians, and Characene came under Sasanian rule. For all practical purposes the silk route through Gandhāra and Scythia to Charax came to an end.⁷³ After the Sasanian conquest of Gandhāra in 241 it was only to be expected that new influences would supplant those of the Greco-Parthian cities in southern Mesopotamia.

In characterizing the art of the early Sasanians, Sarre emphasizes four new features: the art is principally for the glorification of the ruler, the composition tends to be sym-

metrical, empty spaces in the background are avoided, and the muslin or silk costume of the ruler manifests itself by billowing folds and clinging drapery.⁷⁴

Thus a relief from Naksh-i-Rustem representing the investiture of Ardashir I by the god Ormuzd (Pl. IX, 1)⁷⁵ aims at symmetry, but the drapery folds of both king and god still resemble those of the Parthian period, of which we are reminded also by the isolation of the figures. In the reliefs from the time of Shapur I onwards, the tendencies to fill the background and even more to render the fine frills of the drapery ends are apparent. On the famous relief which portrays the submission of the Roman Emperor Valerian to Shapur I in 260 the wind-blown, billowing folds of the two principals illustrate clearly the new fashion (Pl. IX, 2).⁷⁶ To my mind a number of Gandhāra sculptures which show a mixture of the old Parthian features with the Sasanian innovations can be ascribed to a period immediately following the Sasanian conquest and probably lasting to about 300. These sculptures comprise our Group II.

A relief in the Worcester Art Museum (Pl. X, 1)⁷⁷ recalls the stair risers in Group I, but a number of the male worshippers show over their right legs the same billowing drapery folds as appear in more exaggerated form on the rock relief of Shapur I. Such waving folds, most apparent over the right leg, are a constant feature of the Bodhisattvas; see Nos. 288-98, 313-17. I therefore conclude that the Gandhāra Bodhisattvas as a general rule are to be dated after A.D. 240. Just as the native gods of Palmyra and Dura are represented in the uniform of a Roman emperor, so the Bodhisattva costume resembles that of the Sasanian monarch.

On a relief in the British Museum illustrating an incident from the Sibi Jātaka (Pl. X, 2),⁷⁸ a discreet form of the billowing folds appears, although the drapery as a whole rather recalls that of the Parthian period. The earlier isolation, however, is given up. There is some overlapping of the figures, and at the left the representation of at least two different planes has been attempted. A relief in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Pl. X, 3)⁷⁹ shows a more ambitious composition. The Buddha seated in the center calls the earth to witness (see No. 66) against the wicked Māra and his helpers. Here the background is crowded with figures in three layers, but the two figures at the extreme left are related to the sculptures of Group I in the closely spaced and zigzag-shaped drapery folds. A number of sculptures described in the catalogue furnish additional evidence of this group. Most of these sculptures have the symmetrical build-up of the relief illustrated on Pl. X, 3, e.g., three reliefs, formerly in the Guides Mess at Hoti Mardan, and probably found in one and the same place: Nos. 12,⁸⁰ 16, and 66.⁸¹ Of particular interest is No. 72 because it may be the first seated Buddha known in the pose of reassurance. Under his

raised right hand the edges of the *sanghāti* almost come together, while in his left hand he gathers together the end of the *sanghāti* revealing the folds in the *dhōṭī* as it is drawn over the left knee. The throne of the Buddha is without decoration. It is worth noting that the Buddhas of both Nos. 66 and 99—the only two with well-preserved heads—have mustaches, and that the former has the same tall *ushnīsha* as Nos. 54 and 59 of Group I. The relief representing the visit to the Indrasāla cave by Indra and his harpist (No. 128) may well belong in this group also, both on account of the small scale of the Buddha and the disproportionate size of Indra's harpist.⁸² The Buddha is seated in the pose of meditation, the *dhyāna mudra*, his hands covered by the *sanghāti*. The veiled hands are known both from Palmyra⁸³ and from Dura⁸⁴ and may here as well as there relate to the old Persian practice, according to which the hands were covered to receive a gift from a deity or king.⁸⁵ The Bimarān reliquary (Pl. III, 1) seems to fit best in this group taking into consideration the drapery folds of the Buddha. It recalls in several respects a Sasanian silver jug (Pl. XI, 1)⁸⁶ on which a row of priestesses is standing within arches supported by columns.

I must admit that I can point to no single seated Buddha statues from this particular group. Perhaps it took some time before worshippers ordered single Buddha images made, but it may partly or wholly be due to chance. The relief No. 73, on which the Buddha is seated in meditation, hands covered, among worshippers, I would, however, place in this period. Here he wears a mustache, his halo is still small, and his throne is undecorated save for the sawtooth molding under the upper edge. Late in this group, or early in the next, we would place the so-called reliquary of Kanishka, Nos. 494–95. Having been found in the stūpa of Kanishka at Peshawar and bearing the inscribed information that it had been deposited “in the year 1 of (the maharāja) Kanishka,” in the “*vihāra* of Kanishka,”^{86a} no wonder it has generally been accepted as deposited by Kanishka himself and as bearing his image. The rather careless work, however, has caused some surprise, so that Marshall, for example, ascribes it to a namesake of Kanishka, his less famous grandson Kanishka II.⁸⁷ But the objections of Majumdar⁸⁸ are more conclusive. In the first place, the distinguished Indian scholar calls to mind that Kanishka is always portrayed bearded; it is only after Huvishka that the Kushān kings appear beardless. Secondly, the inverted-lotus seat and the decorated halo likewise point to the later Kushān period. One might add that since the lotus seat indicates the divine character of its occupant, it would seem impossible for Kanishka, a self-acknowledged Hinayānist, to have the Buddha thus enthroned.⁸⁹ Buchthal champions an even later date. On account of the animated character of the garlands with cupids—a motif he thinks was introduced only about A.D. 200—he considers the earliest date

possible to be about A.D. 250.⁹⁰ Finally, Deydier attacks Konow's reading of the date, insisting that the legend of "the year 1 of Kanishka" should be disregarded.^{90a} My colleague at Yale, Professor Thieme, whom I have consulted on the epigraphical problem, has given as his opinion that Konow's "possibility"—as Konow himself calls his reading—stands, but is far from certain. If Konow is right, then we must, as far as I can see, identify Kanishka, not with the great Kushān, but with the Kanishka II of that Kushān dynasty which followed that of Kanishka. In Ghirshman's historical reconstruction⁹¹ he is placed as the second of that dynasty, i.e., probably c. 280–300. On his coins he appears unbearded and clad in what may well be a careless rendering of the kind of caftan that the king wears on the reliquary casket. It is also possible that this Kanishka II was the third and last of the Kushāns, in which case he would belong in the first quarter of the fourth century. This date corresponds to the one we would propose, were the reliquary casket to be dated on archaeological grounds only.⁹²

The next group, III, is a very large one which future researches will without doubt be able to subdivide considerably. As it now stands, we date it from about A.D. 300 to 400. Two new *mudras* appear: the pose of meditation, the *dhyāna mudra*, with uncovered hands, and the *dharmacakra mudra*, the gesture of teaching. Of these, the pose of meditation may very well have been developed within the preceding group, whereas the teaching gesture seems to be an innovation of this group.

It is quite possible that influence from the ancient Indian art center Mathura (see Map 2) made itself felt in Gandhāra already within Group II. In Mathura a typical seated Bodhisattva figure may go back even to the time before Kanishka. In any case, early in the reign of that monarch the type of Bodhisattva, seated, right hand in the pose of reassurance, had become fixed.⁹³ This type, which soon seems to have been used for the Buddha too, differs from the Gandhāran in the following points: the edge of the halo is scalloped, the *ushnisha* is shell-shaped, the right shoulder and the feet are uncovered, the drapery is diaphanous, and the throne is decorated with a lion at each corner; see, for example, the Bodhisattva from the Katra hill in Mathura (Pl. XI, 2).⁹⁴ A similar Bodhisattva is dated in the year 39 of Kanishka, that is, according to the Ghirshman computation, 183.⁹⁵ It is possible that during the period of our Group I some Mathura sculptor imitated the Gandhāran Buddhas, but no such Mathura sculptures have survived which can be dated with certainty. It seems, however, very likely that two "dated" Mathura sculptures can be placed within the period corresponding to our Group II. One is dated in the year 22,⁹⁶ the other in the year 51⁹⁷ of an unspecified era, which undoubtedly is that of Kanishka. Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw completes the date of the first of these sculptures to 122, the

digit for 100 being omitted,⁹⁸ whereas she leaves the date of the second sculpture at the year 51. According to her, the two sculptures would, therefore, be dated 200 and 129 respectively.⁹⁹

The lions flanking the throne on the Katra Bodhisattva, on the Buddha from the Kanishka year 39,¹⁰⁰ and on a pedestal from the Kanishka year 47,¹⁰¹ are all represented in profile looking outward; the lions on the Mathura sculptures from the years 22 and 51 are portrayed almost or fully *en face*, both looking forward.¹⁰² However, since the lions on the two sculptures are so similar, it is difficult to believe that they were executed 71 years apart (200–129), so I would prefer to treat the date 51 in the same way as 22, namely by adding 100 to both of them. This would separate them by only 29 years (229–200 or, according to Ghirshman's computation, 295–266).

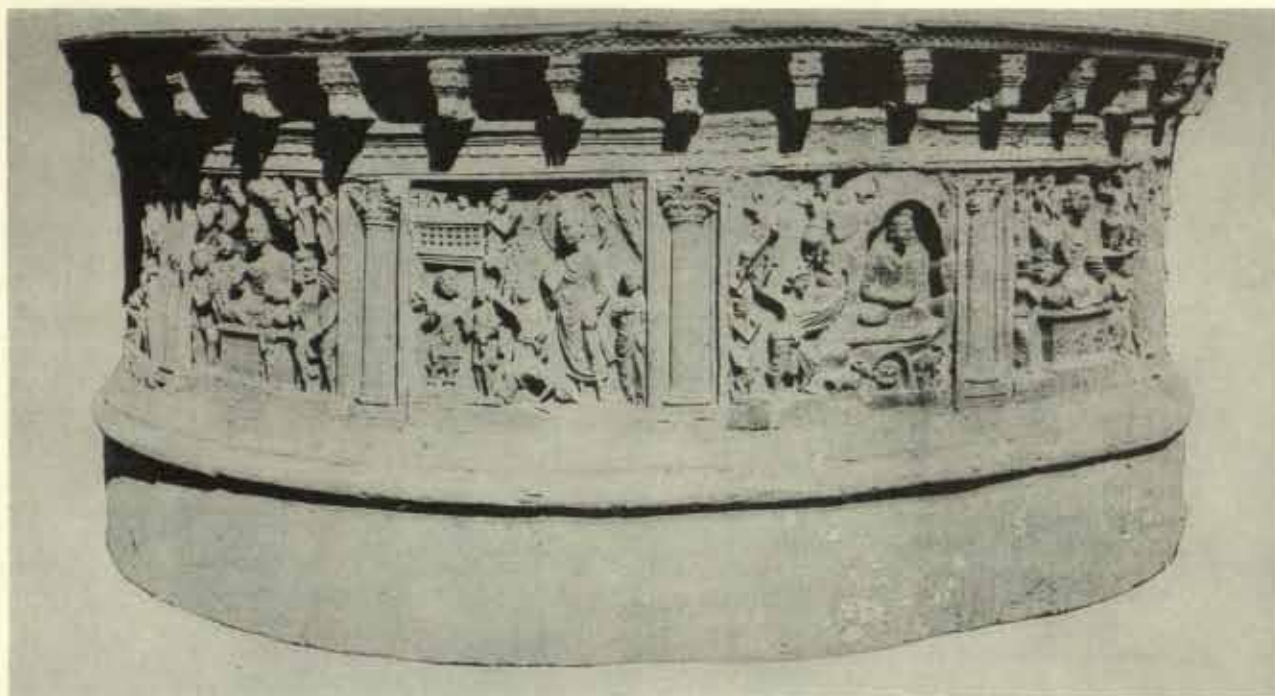
In the light of this sculptural development in Mathura let us examine a number of Gandhāran sculptures which differ from those which we have discussed under Groups I–II, in ways which suggest the School of Mathura.

Among the seated Buddhas in the pose of reassurance one, now in the Brundage Collection (Pl. XI, 3), has the edge of the halo decorated with rays like that of the Buddha on the lid of the Kanishka reliquary (Nos. 494–95), and one foot, the left, is uncovered. The hair just above the center of the forehead curves outward and back from a small widow's peak, making a characteristic almond-shaped form; see Nos. 7 and 60. The drapery folds of the *dhōṭī* over the right leg no longer correspond to those over the left leg, but seem rather to have been inspired by the folds seen on Iranian trousers.¹⁰⁴ Another seated Buddha, formerly in the Gainsborough Studios (Pl. XI, 4),¹⁰⁵ has but a plain circle along the edge of the halo, but here, too, the left foot is uncovered and the folds of the *dhōṭī* over the right leg correspond to those on the Brundage Buddha. In addition the Gainsborough Buddha has snail curls covering the head,¹⁰⁶ and the throne is flanked by two lions, almost frontal, the heads turned slightly inward.

Closely resembling the Gainsborough and the Brundage Buddhas are four other seated Buddhas, also in *abhaya mudra*. One, also in the Brundage Collection (Pl. XII, 1), has a number of Mathura features: a rather large halo, decorated both with rays and a wavy circular line, the throne flanked by two almost frontal lions, and in the palm of the right hand an incised circle; see No. 7. The folds of the *dhōṭī* on the right leg are, however, like those in Group II¹⁰⁷ and the drapery folds of the *saṅghātī* probably likewise reflect the style developed in that period, namely, more or less parallel ridges, some more emphasized than others. Characteristic of Group III, however, are the way in which the *saṅghātī* no longer covers the right knee, and the peculiar central ornament on the

throne, probably representing a stalk; see Nos. 194 and 299. A Buddha from the Indian Museum in Calcutta (Pl. XII, 2) ¹⁰⁸ shows a rather flat *ushnīsha*, composed of carefully arranged curls, the rest of the hair running in wavy horizontal strands from the center part to the back of the head. The uncovered right shoulder and the way in which both feet are uncovered point plainly to Mathura. Another seated Buddha in the same museum (Pl. XII, 3) ¹⁰⁹ has a flat *ushnīsha* similar to that of the preceding statue, but the rest of the hair is arranged in wavy locks running parallel to the outline of the forehead. As on the last Brundage Buddha mentioned (Pl. XII, 1), the *sanghātī* here no longer covers the right knee, and the folds of the *dhōṭī* over the right leg recall those on the first Brundage Buddha (Pl. XI, 3). The base is decorated with four five-petalled rosettes. Finally, the famous seated Buddha from Takht-i-Bahai, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (Pl. XII, 4), must belong with this Group III, although it is generally regarded as the oldest representation of the seated Buddha.¹¹⁰ Characteristic of Mathura are the uncovered right foot, the way in which the *sanghātī* no longer covers the right knee, and the lions flanking the throne both looking inwards. The almond-shaped form in the hair above the center of the forehead appeared on the first Brundage Buddha (Pl. XI, 3); other features are seen here for the first time, such as the rather surprising transparency of the drapery, especially noticeable below the right hand, where one can see the modelling of the left foot.¹¹¹ Furthermore, in addition to the drapery folds indicated by more or less emphasized ridges a number of folds no longer run parallel, but converge either at one or both ends, as for example at the end of the *sanghātī* held in the left hand and many folds of the *sanghātī* on the right side. Whereas the transparency of the drapery may be due to Mathura influence, the "forked" folds seem to represent a Gandhāran stylistic formula. An exaggerated development of these forked folds can be seen on a bust in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Pl. XIII, 1) ¹¹² which by the "sleeve over knee" formula ¹¹³ recalls the Brundage and the Gainsborough Buddhas (Pl. XI, 3-4). It is certainly to be dated late in Group III, both on account of the forked folds and also the way in which the *ushnīsha* and the rest of the hair are arranged.

Among the Buddhas seated in the pose of meditation the new influences can also be traced. One Buddha, on the New York art market (Pl. XIII, 2), has both feet and right shoulder covered, the drapery folds are indicated by more or less emphasized ridges, and the *dhōṭī* can be recognized clearly on both right and left legs. It might therefore be considered as belonging to Group II, but three traits rather favor inclusion in Group III: the almond-shaped form of the hair just above the center of the forehead, and particularly the way in which the folds of the *sanghātī* are arranged over the right breast, probably in-



I 1. The Sikri Stūpa. *Lahore.*



I 2. Pedestal of Buddha Statue, Loriyān Tāngai.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.



I 3. Pedestal of Buddha Statue, Hastinapur. *British Museum.*



II 1. Buddha Statue, Loriyān Tāngai.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.



II 2. Buddha Statue, Hashtnagar. *Rajar, Hindu Temple.*



II 3. The Goddess Hārītī, Skārah
Dherī. *Formerly Lahore.*



III 1. Bimarān Reliquary. *British Museum.*



III 2. Gold Coin of Kanishka,
Rev. Standing Buddha. *British Museum.*



III 3. Copper Coin of Kanishka,
Rev. Standing Buddha. *British Museum.*



III 4. Copper Coin of Kanishka,
Rev. Seated Buddha. *British Museum.*



III 5. Copper Coin of Kanishka,
Rev. Seated Buddha. *British Museum.*





IV 1. Stair-Riser Relief. *Cleveland Museum of Art.*



IV 2. Stair-Riser Relief. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*



IV 3. Stair-Riser Relief. *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.*



V 1. Stair-Riser Relief.



V 2. Stair-Riser Relief.



V 3. The Buddha and Vajrapāṇi. *Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*



VI 1. Sarcophagus, Tell Barak, Palestine.



VI 2. Sculptured Slab, Palmyra.



VI 3. Sarcophagus, Palmyra.



VII 1. Bronze Statue, Shami. *Teheran.*



VII 2. Statue of Princess ŠPRY, Hatra. *Baghdad.*



VIII 1. Relief from Khirbet Wadi Su'nech. *Damascus.*



VIII 2. Painted Victory, Dura. *Damascus.*



VIII 3. Three Goddesses, Hatra. *Baghdad.*



IX 1. Investiture of Ardashir. *Naksh-i-Rustem, Iran.*



IX 2. Valerian Kneeling before Shapur I. *Naksh-i-Rustem, Iran.*



X 1. Stair-Riser Relief. *Worcester Art Museum.*



X 2. Story from the Sibi Jataka. *British Museum.*



X 3. Attack of Māra. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*



XI 1. Sasanian Silver Jug. *Hermitage, Leningrad.*



XI 2. Seated Bodhisattva, Katra. *Muttra, India.*



XI 3. The Reassuring Buddha. *Brundage Collection, Chicago.*



XI 4. The Reassuring Buddha.



XII 1. The Reassuring Buddha. *Brundage Collection, Chicago.*



XII 2. The Reassuring Buddha. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*



XII 3. The Reassuring Buddha. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*



XII 4. The Reassuring Buddha. *Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*



XIII 1. The Reassuring Buddha. *Boston Museum of Fine Arts.*



XIII 2. The Buddha in Meditation.



XIII 3. The Buddha in Meditation. *Seattle Art Museum.*



XIV. The Buddha in Meditation. *Art Gallery, Yale University.*



XV 1. The Buddha in Meditation. *Minkenhof Collection, New York.*



XV 2. The Buddha in Meditation. *Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.*



XV 3. The Buddha in Meditation. *British Museum.*



XV 4. The Buddha in Meditation. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*



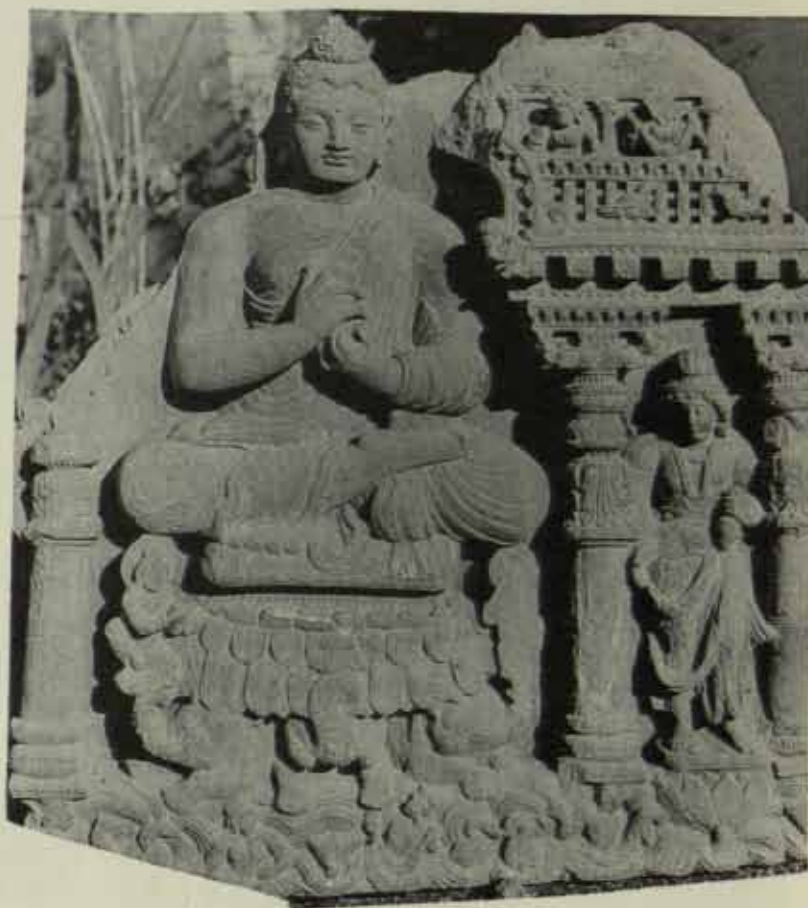
XVI 1. The Teaching Buddha. *Brundage Collection, Chicago.*



XVI 2. The Teaching Buddha. *Karachi.*



XVI 3. The Teaching Buddha on Lotus Throne. *Karachi.*



XVI 4. The Teaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne.



XVII 1. The Buddha.
*Museum für Völker-
kunde, Berlin.*



XVII 2. The Buddha.
British Museum.



XVII 3. The Buddha.
*Royal Scottish Museum,
Edinburgh.*



XVII 4. The Buddha. *Kewor-
kian Collection, New York.*



XVIII 1. Orpheus Charming the Animals. *Byzantine Museum, Athens.*



XVIII 2. Orpheus Charming the Animals. *National Museum, Beirut.*



XVIII 3. The Buddha in the Indrasāla Cave. *British Museum.*



XIX 1. The Buddha in Meditation. Cave 22, Yün Kang, China.



XIX 2. Bronze Statuette of Aphrodite. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.



XIX 3. The Buddha in Meditation, Bronze. Umehara Collection, Tokyo.



XX 1. Offering of the Four Bowls to the Buddha. *Gai Collection, Peshawar.*



XX 2. The Buddha in Meditation on Inverted-Lotus Throne. *Karachi.*



XXI 1. The Buddha in Meditation. *Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*



XXI 2. The Buddha in Meditation and Other Buddhas. *Formerly Peshawar.*



XXI 3. The Buddha Teaching on Inverted-Lotus Throne. *Sammlung für Völkerkunde, Universität Zürich.*



XXI 4. The Buddha Teaching.



XXII 1. The Buddha Teaching and Four Other Buddhas. *Fred and Florence Olsen Collection, New York.*



XXII 2. Attack of Māra. *Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.*



XXII 3. The Buddha in Meditation at Urulvā. *Museum of the Cranbrook Academy of Art, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan.*



XXIII 1. Shapur II Hunting Ibexes. *Hermitage, Leningrad.*



XXIII 2. Shapur II Hunting Boars. *Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.*



XXIII 3. Shapur III Killing a Leopard. *Hermitage, Leningrad.*



XXIII 4. Peroz I Hunting Ibexes. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*



XXIV 1. Wall Painting, Kursha, East Turkestan. *Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*



XXIV 2. Statuette of the Buddha, Central Asia. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*



XXIV 3. Stele with Dual Representation of Maitreya, China. *Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.*



XXIV 4. The Buddha, Two Bodhisattvas, and Two Monks (detail). *Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.*

dicative of a new way of putting on the *sanghāti*; see No. 245. Another Buddha now in the Seattle Art Museum (Pl. XIII, 3)¹¹⁴ is seated in the same pose. It shows similar folds over the right breast and, in addition, the right foot is uncovered. On the base three Buddhas are seated in the pose of meditation, the hands covered, each one flanked by a male and a female worshipper.

An excellent example of a similar Buddha is now in the Art Gallery of Yale University (Pl. XIV).¹¹⁵ This Buddha is seated on the seed capsule of a lotus, the folds of his drapery are rendered by alternating wider and narrower ridges, and the *sanghāti* is arranged as on the Buddha on the art market (Pl. XIII, 2). One would expect the Buddhas in meditation of Group II to have the characteristics of this sculpture. My reasons for including it here are partly the transparency noticeable in the *sanghāti* on the left, partly the lotus seat, which probably was not used until the period of Group III; see No. 257.

Also with the feet covered and with the drapery folds indicated by more or less emphasized ridges is a Buddha in the collection of S. H. Minkenhof (Pl. XV, 1).¹¹⁶ But it is unusual in the manner in which the *sanghāti* covers part of the right knee, and the way in which the lions on the throne are rendered. On the base two kneeling monks worship the alms bowl of the Buddha, a relic from the time of the Buddha himself which had a very particular interest for the people of Gandhāra, since it was kept for some time at Peshawar. The *sanghāti* of a Buddha now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (Pl. XV, 2),¹¹⁷ shows drapery folds similar to those of the Takht-i-Bahai Buddha from Berlin (Pl. XII, 4). On both statues the right foot is uncovered and the throne is flanked by the usual inward-facing lions. Between the lions are a Buddha in the *dhyāna mudra*, hands covered, and a Maitreya in the gesture of reassurance, surrounded by worshippers. A still better parallel to the drapery of the Berlin Buddha is furnished by a Buddha in the British Museum (Pl. XV, 3).¹¹⁸ Not only do the folds of the *sanghāti* here alternate between wider and narrower ridges, the forked folds occur, and the right foot shows uncovered, but we find the same transparency in the *sanghāti* over the right breast and also under the left wrist, where one can see part of the left foot through the robe. Like the Gainsborough Buddha (Pl. XI, 4), this one, too, has snail curls on the head. On the base, flanked by two worshippers, are three Buddhas seated in meditation, hands covered, and two Bodhisattvas. The latter are probably Avalokitesvara and Maitreya; the outer Buddhas represent their corresponding Dhyāni Buddhas, whereas the central Buddha portrays the Buddha Siddhārtha; see Introduction, p. 20. Finally, a seated Buddha, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, gives us another example of a Buddha in meditation seated on a lotus seed capsule (Pl. XV, 4).¹¹⁹ The halo evidently was quite large; the drapery folds correspond to those

of the Berlin Buddha (Pl. XII, 4), as does likewise the uncovered left foot, but the transparent character of the *sanghātī* is here even more pronounced than in the Berlin image.

The most developed version of the visit to the Indrasāla cave as we meet it in Nos. 130 and 131 is probably to be ascribed to Group IV,¹²⁰ but the particular arrangement of the worshipping gods and animals in horizontal tiers no doubt goes back to Group III. Three reliefs furnish good examples of this: one in Calcutta,¹²¹ one on No. 134 and one in the British Museum (Pl. XVIII, 3).¹²² The way in which on this latter version the *sanghātī* of the Buddha covers part of the right knee recalls the similar arrangement on the Buddha in the Minkenhof Collection (Pl. XV, 1). The sculptural type of the Indrasāla visit discussed above to my mind goes back, not to the Mithraic tauroctony,¹²³ but to the well-known motif of Orpheus charming the animals with the music from his lyre.¹²⁴ Two early Byzantine versions of this theme will illustrate this close connection between the seated Orpheus and the seated Buddha: one is in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (Pl. XVIII, 1),¹²⁵ the other in the National Museum in Beirut, Lebanon (Pl. XVIII, 2).¹²⁶

The Buddha seated in the pose of preaching probably does not occur in Gandhāra until the period of Group III.¹²⁷ A fine example of this type, which evidently soon became very popular, is a Buddha in the Brundage collection (Pl. XVI, 1).¹²⁸ The Mathura influence is obvious in the uncovered right shoulder and left foot. The halo is very large, and just above the center of the forehead the locks form the almond-shaped figure; the *sanghātī* has been put on in the manner which from now on is reflected in Buddha images whose right shoulders are covered;¹²⁹ the drapery shows the familiar mixture of ridges and forked folds, and the transparency of the *sanghātī*—note particularly the way in which the foot can be seen through the robe—corresponds to that of the Berlin, British Museum, and Calcutta Buddhas (Pls. XII, 4, and XV, 3-4). One important difference must, however, be noted. Whereas in the previous images of seated Buddhas the left leg has been covered by the *dhōtī* only, here it is covered by that end of the *sanghātī* which hangs down the back from the left shoulder and is drawn forward under the left forearm. On the base framed by two leonine feet a Bodhisattva in meditation receives the adoration of two kneeling worshippers. Another preaching Buddha, now in Karachi (Pl. XVI, 2),¹³⁰ shows very clearly the extraordinarily extended ear lobes caused by the heavy jewelry which, as an Indian prince, Siddhārtha had worn in his ears. The almond-shaped form above the forehead and the forked folds recall the preceding Buddha, but the feet are both uncovered as on a Buddha image in Calcutta (Pl. XII, 2); under and between the

heels the drapery is arranged in a graceful loop. On the base a Bodhisattva in meditation receives the adoration of four kneeling worshippers. Unique are the two corner lions, each one attended by an amorino, one giving the animal to drink, the other teasing it; cf. Nos. 453 and 458.

One sculpture portraying the Srāvastī miracle presents a Buddha in the same attitude, the feet similarly arranged and the left leg likewise covered by the *sanghāti*. It is in the Museum of Karachi (Pl. XVI, 3)¹³¹ and is described as No. 1 under our catalogue No. 256. Like the other Karachi Buddha (Pl. XVI, 2), it has the drapery loop under the feet and a curious spiral-shaped fold across the right leg, a feature likewise found in a sculpture of the same subject once on the art market in London (Pl. XVI, 4).¹³²

In the standing Buddhas, too, we see a development analogous to that of the seated Buddhas. One in Berlin (Pl. XVII, 1)¹³³ furnishes a beautiful example of both the transparency of the *sanghāti*, of the forked folds, and the triangular pattern of the folds over the right breast. The drapery is even more clinging in a statue in the British Museum (Pl. XVII, 2),¹³⁴ which in addition has a very low *ushnīsha* and the familiar almond-shaped form in the hair rising from the widow's peak. A huge halo forms the background of a Buddha in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (Pl. XVII, 3),¹³⁵ which likewise shows both diaphanous drapery and forked folds. The halo is decorated along the edge by rays similar to those of the Buddha on the lid of the Kanishka reliquary (Nos. 494-95) and on two seated Buddhas in the Brundage collection (Pls. XI, 3, and XII, 1). On the base a seated Maitreya receives the worship of four standing monks. Forked folds and transparent drapery are also in evidence on a statue in the Kevorkian Collection (Pl. XVII, 4),¹³⁶ which likewise has the almond-shaped form in the hair above the forehead. The locks of the rather flat *ushnīsha* recall those of the seated Buddha in Calcutta (Pl. XII, 2). The base is decorated with two open lotus flowers; see Nos. 215 and 462.

A great number of other sculptures can now be ascribed to Group III. We shall in the following name some characteristic examples. There are first the Sikri Stūpa reliefs,^{136a} by Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw named the oldest sculptures from early Gandhāran art,¹³⁷ whereas Soper champions the later date of the third or early fourth century.¹³⁸ Among the earmarks of Group III the following are clearly discernible: the almond-shaped pattern in the hair, the incised circle in the palm of the right hand, and, especially, the curious way of rendering the folds of the *dhōṭī* covering the right knee; see, e.g., No. 104.

Gradually the Buddha figures become bigger compared with the other persons represented, consonant with the increasing deification of the Enlightened. On our No. 70, from the Sikri Stūpa, Brahma is represented on the left side of the Buddha, the place of honor,

whereas Indra is portrayed on his right. On the so-called Kanishka reliquary (Nos. 494-95) Brahma and Indra are similarly placed, a feature which, together with the rays on the halo—see above, Pls. XI, 3; XII, 1, and XVII, 3—makes it practically certain that the reliquary too belongs in Group III. Our No. 229, having the same peculiar folds on the right leg as the Sikri reliefs, belongs therefore to the same group. We include with it also the two reliefs, Nos. 75 and 189, from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa at Taxila, both on account of the dominating size of the Buddha, the floral stalk decorating the lowest part of the reliefs (see Pl. XII, 1), and the way in which the Buddha holds the end of the *sanghāti* in his left hand.¹³⁹

Our No. 232 is a good example of a Buddha in the pose of meditation comparable to Pl. XIII, 2. The fire altar before which two worshippers kneel in adoration—see also Nos. 477-78—probably is to be explained by the syncretism ripe at Gandhāra at this time. The usual design on Sasanian coins portrayed the fire altar—emblem of the chief Zoroastrian deity, Ahuramazda—being worshipped by the reigning monarch.¹⁴⁰ Here it may well represent the Buddha, who in the minds of his worshippers was the equal of Ahuramazda in power.¹⁴¹

The complete Buddhas seated in the pose of preaching (see Nos. 245, 247-49, and 251) all have the earmarks of Group III. The right shoulder is uncovered, as well as both feet, the almond-shaped pattern appears in the hair, except for 249, which has snail curls, and between and under the feet a loop of drapery has been arranged as on the images portrayed in Pl. XVI, 2-4. Forked folds occur in all except No. 245, the drapery folds of which are rather like those of the Yale Buddha (Pl. XIV).

When we turn to the standing Buddhas, a small group is distinguished by very definite characteristics. I refer to Buddhas like Nos. 196, 198-99, 201, 206, and 215. What they have in common is an *ushnīsha* which is rather low and composed of carefully rendered locks such as we also noted on two seated Buddhas from Calcutta (Pls. XII, 2-3). One of these latter (Pl. XII, 2) has undulating locks running in parallel lines toward the back of the head, as was also the case on statues Nos. 196, 198-99, and 206, while the other (Pl. XII, 3) shows parallel rows of wavy hair above the forehead, divided into wedges by vertical, oblique, and horizontal lines, just as was the case on Nos. 201 and 215. On the base of both Nos. 198-99 and 201 the alms bowl of the Buddha is portrayed.¹⁴² There is no doubt that these statues belong to Group III if for no other reason than that the *sanghāti* shows the well-known variation of wider and narrower ridges together with forked folds. But that being so, the famous Buddha from Hoti Mardan must be included in Group III and cannot be regarded as one of the earliest standing Buddhas.¹⁴³ The

ushnisha and the hair find their exact counterparts in those of Nos. 201 and 215, as do likewise the folds of the drapery. A number of heads, generally of very fine workmanship, show similar characteristics in *ushnisha* and hair and can therefore be included in Group III.¹⁴⁴

As far as the reliefs of the Buddha story are concerned, we cannot here go into detail, but will point out a few characteristics which seem to appear only from Group III on. One is the interrupted architrave, necessitated by the requirement of representing the Buddha, even seated, larger than his surroundings; see, e.g., 33, 45, 57, and 161. Another is the employment of modillions, the regular bracket feature of the Corinthian cornice; see Nos. 57, 120, 162-64, and 257. A third is the decoration of the Indo-Corinthian pilasters themselves with Buddhas (see Nos. 57 and 406), amorini (see No. 162), or even untied wreaths of flowers (see No. 80). Probably also indicative of Group III is the peculiar combination of acanthi and half-rosettes, as found for example in Nos. 121, 165, and 191.¹⁴⁵

Surveying the Buddhas of Group III, it seems quite clear that there is a development as far as the rendering of the drapery folds is concerned from the alternation of wider and narrower ridges to a multitude of forked folds; compare, for example, the seated Buddhas on Pl. XIV and Pl. XIII, 1. Forked folds similar to those in Gandhāra can, I think, be recognized in the bronze statuette of Aphrodite or Anahita, now in the Walters Art Gallery (Pl. XIX, 2).¹⁴⁶ Its provenance is unknown, but the rendering of the folds on the himation which covers the lower part of the body makes it very probable that we are here dealing with a Sasanian statuette. More important from the chronological point of view is, however, the existence in far-off China of similar folds. Buddhism penetrated there early, and its rise became especially rapid during the time when the North Wei dynasty ruled North China from 398 to 532. Many and impressive sculptures still bear witness to the imperial favor granted by these Tartar monarchs to the Buddhist faith.¹⁴⁷ In the so-called Yün Kang caves in northernmost Shansi Province one colossal Buddha in meditation is still preserved, on whose left shoulder and arm the forked folds resemble those of Gandhāra (Pl. XIX, 1),¹⁴⁸ as do likewise the zigzag pleats of the inner edge of the robe which fall from the left shoulder toward his hands.¹⁴⁹ The date of this Buddha is probably close to the end of the fifth century,¹⁵⁰ a date which would allow a century between the Gandhāran prototype and the Chinese version. Among other Chinese parallels we shall mention but one, a bronze statuette dated 482, now in the Umehara Collection, Tokyo (Pl. XIX, 3).¹⁵¹ Besides the forked and the zigzag folds, the two lions standing on the base are also reminiscent of Gandhāra.

The fourth group is perhaps the easiest to recognize, as its *Leitmotif* is simply the

use of paired, parallel lines to indicate the folds of the drapery. A relief in the Gai Collection at Peshawar is a typical example (Pl. XX, 1).¹⁵² Represented are the four *lokapālas*, the Guardians of the Heavenly Quarters, who offer golden alms bowls to the Buddha; see Nos. 68–69. Both in the Buddha and in the *lokapālas* the drapery folds are indicated by the paired lines. On other sculptures, the folds of the Buddha are rendered by the alternation of ridges, and only the folds of the worshippers or of less important deities show the paired, incised lines. Such is the case, for example, on a relief in Karachi (Pl. XX, 2) representing the *Srāvastī* miracle with “emanating Buddhas.”¹⁵³ Buddhas seated in meditation may also have the drapery folds rendered by paired, parallel lines. A good example is a statue in Berlin (Pl. XXI, 1).¹⁵⁴ The halo is very large, the base decorated with five rectangles in each of which crossed diagonals enclose triangular depressions; see No. 197. Both legs seem here to be covered by the *dbotī* only. A similar seated Buddha, found at Takht-i-Bahai (Pl. XXI, 2),¹⁵⁵ presents on either side and along the top welcome illustrations of the doctrines of Mahāyāna theology. As if emanating from the Enlightened are the seven human Buddhas of our age plus the Buddha of the future, Maitreya, as also on the Karachi relief (Pl. XX, 2).¹⁵⁶ The paired lines were used also on the drapery of the teaching Buddha. One such relief is in the *Sammlung für Völkerkunde der Universität Zürich* (Pl. XXI, 3), one of several versions of the *Srāvastī* miracle.¹⁵⁷ Another was once on the art market in New York (Pl. XXI, 4). Both feet and the right shoulder are uncovered, between and under the feet is a loop of drapery, and on the base two worshippers kneel in adoration before a fire altar; see No. 232. The halo is very large, the *ushnisha* and the rest of the hair has the same curious look as on No. 246, and the throne here has a back. A relief belonging to the Fred and Florence Olsen Foundation shows no less than five Buddhas, one seated in the center in the gesture of teaching, two standing on either side (Pl. XXII, 1). The drapery folds on all of them are rendered by the paired lines. The Buddhas no doubt portray the five *Dhyāni* Buddhas; see above, p. 20, and the relief in the British Museum, Pl. XV, 3. Two reliefs, finally, demonstrate that the paired parallel lines were used also in reliefs with motifs from the Buddha story. One is in the Chicago Museum of Natural History (Pl. XXII, 2)¹⁵⁸ and portrays the assault of *Māra*.¹⁵⁹ The base is decorated with rectangles similar to those on the Berlin relief (Pl. XXI, 1), but in addition, a rosette seems to be placed over the two corner rectangles.¹⁶⁰ The attempts of the *Kāśyapas* and their disciples to put out the supposed fire in the fire temple at *Uruvilva* is portrayed on the other relief, now in the Museum of the Cranbrook Academy of Art (Pl. XXII, 3).¹⁶¹ The action is rather well rendered—the hustle of the ascetics outside,

the Buddha meditating calmly inside, while the venomous serpent is about to curl up in his alms bowl.

Among the sculptures described in the catalogue on which drapery is rendered by these same paired lines the following merit special note: No. 285, portraying Bodhisattva-Siddhārtha with worshippers; No. 101, the Buddha with worshippers; and No. 125, on which King Udayana presents a Buddha image to the Buddha. On No. 341, the relief of Hārītī, no paired lines appear on the costume of the goddess herself, but they are present in the costumes of the two donors.¹⁶² Most interesting are the two reliefs, Nos. 130 and 131, representing the visit to the Indrasāla cave. On No. 130 the drapery of the Buddha is rendered by the alternating ridges, but the right foot is uncovered as on a relief in the British Museum,¹⁶³ and on some of the smaller figures the paired lines occur. The other relief, which is dated in the year 89, likewise shows the paired lines on the costumes of some of the many persons who crowd around the cave. They do, however, appear also on the costume of the Buddha both on the *sanghāti*, which covers the knee,¹⁶⁴ and on the very small part of the *dhōṭī* that is visible. Strangely enough, on the *sanghāti* these lines are convex, on the *dhōṭī* concave.¹⁶⁵

Where did this strange way of rendering folds originate? Certainly not in India. Probably the Gandhāran sculptors borrowed this quick manner of carving from their Sasanian colleagues. We find them on the Sasanian silver bowls, but for only a relatively short time, namely, in the reign of Shapur II (309–79) and Shapur III (383–88). We might thus date the occurrence of these paired lines in Iran in the second half of the fourth century, which would give as a reasonable date for their appearance in Gandhāra the first half of the fifth century. Two of the Sasanian bowls portray Shapur II out hunting. On one, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, his quarry is the wild boar (Pl. XXIII, 2);¹⁶⁶ on the other he is hunting ibexes (Pl. XXIII, 1).¹⁶⁷ On both bowls the paired lines are employed for both king and animals, and the same is true also of a bowl, now in the Hermitage, on which Shapur III rather nonchalantly is killing a leopard (Pl. XXIII, 3).¹⁶⁸ Finally, similar lines occur on a bowl now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art on which the Sasanian King Peroz (457–83) is portrayed hunting wild ibexes (Pl. XXIII, 4),¹⁶⁹ just like his distant predecessor Shapur II, whose bowl (Pl. XXIII, 2) evidently had been a model for his.

From Central Asia and China we may finally obtain another chronological check. One of the wall paintings from Kutsha, executed before A.D. 700, portrays a cloth with four scenes from the life of the Buddha (Pl. XXIV, 1):¹⁷⁰ his birth, the assault of Māra, the First Sermon, his *parinirvāṇa*. In all four scenes the paired parallel lines are employed.

The same is true of a small wooden statuette representing the standing Buddha, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Pl. XXIV, 2).¹⁷¹ It is said to have come from Khocho, but according to Le Coq it might have got there from Khotan, or possibly India. We can thus see how, together with merchandise, the Buddhist gospel advanced with the caravans from Gandhāra by way of Khotan to China. I might finally cite two Chinese dated sculptures which clearly demonstrate Gandhāran influence. One is a tablet in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, dated 565, and decorated with a dual representation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (Pl. XXIV, 3).¹⁷² One sees the paired lines on the two Bodhisattvas; their curious cross-legged position with feet drawn high on the thighs is likewise found at Gandhāra, for example, in No. 161, D. Also the two lions, here flanking and watching the incense altar, have Gandhāra antecedents; see, e.g., Pl. XI, 4. The other Chinese example is a stele, now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston and dated 547 (Pl. XXIV, 4).¹⁷³ It portrays the Buddha flanked by two monks and two Bodhisattvas, and one can easily recognize the paired lines indicating the drapery folds on the costumes of both the Buddhas and the monks. The right hand of the Buddha is in the gesture of reassurance, *abhyā mudra*; the left hand likewise has the palm turned toward the spectator, but the fingers are bent downward, a position called *varada mudra*.¹⁷⁴ Such a pose is known in Gandhāra also.¹⁷⁵

We believe we have established four groups. Group I is considered to have lasted from 144 to 240, from the accession of Kanishka to the conquest of Shapur I. Group II is of shorter duration, from 240 to 300; but Group III again spans a whole century, 300-400, and Group IV includes the last sixty years of the region's independence, 400-460. During Group I Gandhāran art is marked by Hellenistic influences from Parthian Mesopotamia. In Group II Sasanian influences come to the fore, and in Group III a new wave of influences enters the country from Mathura. The fourth group, finally, sees Sasanian influences reappear. But wherever the influences come from, the core of the population and its culture remain Indian.

At present there is general lack of faith in the so-called dated sculptures.¹⁷⁶ However, I think that if the Vikrama era is used the dated inscriptions would make sense archaeologically. This era began in 58 B.C. and was in general use in the western and central parts of India.¹⁷⁷ For the Loryān Tāngai and the Hashtnagar Buddhas and for the Hāriti it would give the dates: A.D. 261, 327, and 342. The Loryān Tāngai Buddha (Pl. II, 2), if dated A.D. 261, would fall early in Period II. The folds are rendered by the alternation of wider and narrower ridges, and there is no trace on the right breast of the triangular pattern of folds which, it is thought, did not come in until Group III.¹⁷⁸ The date 327

for the Hashtnagar statue (Pl. II, 2) would also fit very well, as the sculpture does have the main characteristics of Group III, namely, the triangular pattern over the right breast and the mixture of more and less emphasized ridges with the forked folds; also, on the base the folds of the right leg correspond to those encountered, for example, on the seated Buddha from Takht-i-Bahai, now in Berlin (Pl. XII, 4). For the Skārah Dherī statue of Hāriti (Pl. II, 3), with its exaggerated forked folds (Fig. 1), a date of 342 would seem reasonable. One date, that of the year 89 for the Mamāne Dherī relief, No. 131, is still unaccounted for. I propose that the digit for the hundreds has been omitted, that it was 4, and that the date 489 should likewise be computed according to the Vikrāma era. The result would then be 432,¹⁷⁹ which would fit this sculpture of Group IV admirably.

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NOTES

- ¹ Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1950, pp. 1-5.
- ² The maps, 1-3, have been executed by Mr. Robert L. Williams, Director of Map Laboratory at Yale.
- ³ Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 77.
- ⁴ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13.
- ⁵ Deydier, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2. Benedict and Voigtlander, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, X, 1956, p. 8.
- ⁶ Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*,² Cambridge, 1951, p. 79.
- ⁷ Ghirshman, *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXXIV, 1943-45, p. 70.
- ⁸ Ghirshman, *MDAFA*, XII, 1946, p. 151, Fig. 39. See also Erdmann, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 71, 1950, pp. 163-70.
- ⁹ Marshall, *Antiquity*, 23, 1949, pp. 5-6. Deydier, *op. cit.*, pp. XXIV-XXVII.
- ¹⁰ Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53.
- ¹¹ Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-62. See also Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 56, 1936, pp. 429-39, pl. facing p. 429, and Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 317, n. 38.
- ¹² Ghirshman, *MDAFA*, XIII, 1948, pp. 69-71.
- ¹³ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 73-74.
- ¹⁴ Ghirshman, *MDAFA*, XIII, 1948, pp. 74-128.
- Wheeler, *Antiquity*, 23, 1949, p. 18.
- ¹⁵ Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Baltimore, 1953, p. 77.
- ¹⁶ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76.
- ¹⁷ Rowland, *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁸ Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 597-673. Deydier, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII.
- ¹⁹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- ^{19a} Burgess, *JAI*, VIII, 1900, Pl. 6; text *ibid.*, p. 32, n. 3.
- ^{19b} Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 19f.
- ²⁰ Suddhodana was one of the chiefs of the tribe of the Sakya in the kingdom of Magadha and belonged to the clan of Gautama. Among southern Buddhists the name "Gautama" for this very reason is often applied to Siddhārta in the same way as among the northern Buddhists he is generally called Sākyamuni, the latter part of which has the meaning of "wise" or "saint" in Sanskrit. See Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1928, p. XVII.
- ^{20a} Rawlinson, *India*, 5th ed., 1954, pp. 47-48.
- ^{20b} Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- ²¹ Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 312-16. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, Bombay, 1951, pp. 74-77.
- ²² Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

- ²³ Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 371-82, 862. See also LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art*, New Haven, 1954, pp. 1, 3-6.
- ²⁴ Cf. below, Nos. 279, 313, 324, and 326.
- ²⁵ Cf. Miss de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude de Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948, pp. 119-27. He is probably to be recognized in No. 326.
- ²⁶ Cf. Agrawala, *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, 1938, pp. 1-13. Foucher, *MDAFA*, I, *La Vieille route de l'Inde*, II, Paris, 1947, pp. 288, 343.
- ²⁷ Cf. below under No. 506.
- ²⁸ Bosch, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, VII, 1950, p. 91.
- ²⁹ Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 245, No. 8, pp. 251-53, 259-60, Pl. LXIX, b. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, pp. 24-26 and Fig. 3, and *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, I, p. 82, II, Pls. 142 right, 143 top. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 491, Fig. 477. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 388 and Fig. 2, and in *AJA*, 46, 1942, p. 225, Fig. 1. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 114, Pl. VII, Fig. 10. Ghirshman, *JA*, CCXXXIV, 1943-45, p. 68. For inscription, see Konow, *CII*, II, 1, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 106-07, Pl. XXI, 1.
- ³⁰ Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 244, No. 7, and pp. 258-59, Pl. LXIX, a. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, pp. 24, 26, and Fig. 5, and *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, p. 82, and II, Pls. 142 left and 143 bottom. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 491, Fig. 478, and p. 493, Fig. 479. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 388 and Fig. 3, and *AJA*, 46, 1942, p. 225, Fig. 2. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-16, Fig. 11 on Pl. VII. Ghirshman, *JA*, CCXXXIV, 1943-45, p. 69. For inscription, see Konow, *CII*, II, 1, pp. 117-19, Pl. XXII, 10, and Deydier, *Contribution*, pp. 223-24.
- ^{30a} Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 245, No. 12, pp. 254-55, 259-60, Pl. LXIX, c. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, pp. 17-19, 27-28, and Fig. 11, and *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, p. 85, II, Pl. 150 right. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 572-74, 871, Fig. 377 on p. 129. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 388 and Fig. 14, p. 395, n. 27. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21, Fig. 19 on Pl. XII. Ghirshman, *JA*, CCXXXIV, 1943-45, p. 69. For inscription, see Konow, *CII*, II, 1, pp. 124-27, Pl. XXIII, 8, and Deydier, *Contribution*, p. 224.
- ^{30b} See under No. 131.
- ^{30c} *CII*, II, 1, pp. 171-72, Pl. XXXIV, bottom right.
- ^{30d} Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 51, Fig. 7; II, pp. 478, 492, and in *Vieille route de l'Inde*, II, p. 341. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, pp. 15, 26, and Figs. 1-2; *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, pp. 83-84, II, Pl. 140 left; *JAOS*, 61, 1941, pp. 228-29. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 398-99, Fig. 1 facing p. 388. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 14. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-94, Fig. 1 on Pl. I. Deydier, *Oriental Art*, II, 1949-50, pp. 111-12, and in *Contribution*, pp. 8-10. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 84-85, Pl. 38 B.
- ³¹ Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, *loc. cit.*
- ³² Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 478. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, 23, 1949, p. 6.
- ³³ Marshall, *JRAS*, 1946, p. 119, and 1947, pp. 16 ff.
- ³⁴ *Antiquity*, 23, 1949, pp. 17-18.
- ³⁵ *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 314 and 319, n. 101.
- ³⁶ *Vieille route de l'Inde*, II, pp. 342-44.
- ³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 340-41.
- ³⁸ Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, pp. 227-28. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131.
- ³⁹ Buchthal, "The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXI, 1945, p. 10.
- ⁴⁰ *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 306.
- ⁴¹ Wheeler, *Antiquity*, 23, 1949, pp. 13-15.
- ⁴² *Op. cit.*, pp. 305-06.
- ⁴³ For the term "Romano-Buddhist," see Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- ⁴⁴ Ghirshman, *MDAFA*, XII, 1946, pp. 99-108 and in *JA*, CCXXXIV, 1943-45, pp. 59-71.
- ⁴⁵ Ghirshman, *JA*, CCXXXIV, 1943-45, p. 63.
- ⁴⁶ Ghirshman, *MDAFA*, XII, 1946, p. 102.
- ⁴⁷ Ghirshman, *JA*, CCXXXIV, 1943-45, pp. 63-71.
- ⁴⁸ Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, XII, 1892, pp. 80, 158-59, Pl. VIII, No. 7. Schoff, *Proceedings Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia*, 27, 1916, p. 63.
- ⁴⁹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, XII, 1892, pp. 81, 159, Pl. VIII, No. 10.
- ⁵⁰ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, XII, 1892, pp. 81, 159, Pl. VIII, pp. 81-82, Nos. 12 and 14. See also Agrawala, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VIII, 1946, p. 61.
- ⁵¹ Aurel Stein, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-

- Scythian Coins," *Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August 1887. Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 981-1012.
- ⁵² Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f.
- ⁵³ The ancient history of Characene has recently been treated by one of my students, S. A. Nodelman, whose paper will appear shortly in *Berytus*.
- ⁵⁴ Starcky, *Palmyre*, Paris, 1952, pp. 74-75.
- ⁵⁵ Seyrig, in *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, Brussels, 1936, pp. 397-402, and in *Journal of Roman Studies*, XL, 1950, p. 6.
- ⁵⁶ Found in Qasr el Hayyeh, now in the Museum of Palmyra. Compare the miniature bronze boat found near Sidon: Seyrig, *Syria*, XXVIII, 1951, pp. 101-13.
- ⁵⁷ Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 136. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 566.
- ⁵⁸ Published by H.C.H., *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XVII, 1930, pp. 192-93, ill., p. 197, top. H. 6½".
- ⁵⁹ A similar piece is in the British Museum: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 247, Fig. 126. For the date, see Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
- ⁶⁰ In the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. IN, 2207-1.
- ⁶¹ Photograph given me by Mr. F. St. George Spendlove, Toronto. For the subject, see No. 50.
- ⁶² Photograph likewise given by Mr. Spendlove. For the subject, see Nos. 81, 83-84.
- ⁶³ Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 49, Fig. 326. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 112, Pl. V, Fig. 8.
- ⁶⁴ See Nos. 264 and 273.
- ⁶⁵ Ingholt, *Berytus*, II, 1935, p. 73, Pl. XXXIV, top.
- ⁶⁶ *Bulletin British School of Archaeology Jerusalem*, No. 6, 1924, p. 77, Pl. V. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, II, Leipzig, 1935, p. 103, Pl. 32, Fig. 75.
- ⁶⁷ Godard, *Athār-e-Īrān*, II, 1937, p. 286, Fig. 115. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, III, Paris, 1946, pp. 9-15, Pl. XXV, right. H. 1.94 m.
- ⁶⁸ Naji el Asil, *ILN*, 18 Dec. 1954, p. 1116, Fig. 4. Lenzen, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1955, col. 350, Fig. 6. Maricq, *Syria*, XXXII, 1955, pp. 273-81, Fig. 1 on p. 274.
- ⁶⁹ L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo, 1953, pp. 153-59. Carl H. Kraeling, in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, VIII, 1: *The Synagogue*, New Haven, 1956, p. 57, n. 121.
- ⁷⁰ F. E. Brown, in *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, VI, New Haven, 1936, pp. 63-67, Pl. XLI, 1.
- ⁷¹ See n. 53.
- ⁷² Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris, 1951, p. 73, No. 17, Pl. XXXI, 2. From Wadi Suaneh in the Palmyra steppe. H. 0.42 m.
- ⁷³ Naji el Asil, *ILN*, Dec. 25, 1954, p. 1161, Fig. 2 left. Lenzen, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1955, cols. 345-46, Fig. 4.
- ⁷⁴ Starcky, *Palmyre*, p. 76.
- ⁷⁵ *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 36-37.
- ⁷⁶ Herzfeld, *RAA*, V, 1928, p. 131, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 3. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Berlin, 1943, pp. 50-51, Pl. 20.
- ⁷⁷ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, V, 1928, p. 133, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 7. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55, Pl. 21.
- ⁷⁸ Published by E.S.S. in *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, XVI, 1926, pp. 78-81, ill. on pp. 73, 74, and 80. H. 15½".
- ⁷⁹ Longworth Dames and Joyce, *Man*, XIII, 1913, pp. 17-19, Pl. B. Foucher, *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, III, Paris, 1919, pp. 17-18, 49, Pl. III, 3. H. 8½".
- ⁸⁰ Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, II, 1923, pp. 58, 59, Pl. XVII. Anesaki, *Buddhist Art in Its Relations to Buddhist Ideals*, London, 1916, Pl. IV, B. Acc. no. 07.493. H. 0.502 m.
- ⁸¹ Compare also the relief published by Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 76, Fig. 6.
- ⁸² Cf. also Nos. 14, 24, 38, 50, 71, 77, 99, 137, and 144. No. 26 probably belongs in the same category, as it might represent the right half of the relief only.
- ⁸³ Buchthal, *The Western Aspects*, pp. 19-20, Fig. 44.
- ⁸⁴ Seyrig, *Syria*, XV, 1934, pp. 163 f., Pl. XIX.
- ⁸⁵ Kraeling, *op. cit.*, *The Synagogue*, p. 166, Pl. LXVI.
- ⁸⁶ Kraeling, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 629.
- ⁸⁷ Orbeli et Trever, *Orfèvrerie Sasanide*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. XLIII, Pl. 46, right.
- ⁸⁸ See Catalogue, Nos. 494-95.
- ⁸⁹ *JRAS*, 1947, p. 31. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, 23, 1949, p. 6.

- ⁸⁸ *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, II, Delhi, 1937, p. 13, n. 3.
- ⁸⁹ Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 136.
- ⁹⁰ *Burlington Magazine*, 86, 1945, pp. 66, 69.
- ⁹¹ *Contribution*, p. 245, n. 5.
- ⁹² *MDAFA*, XII, 1946, pp. 163-64.
- ⁹³ For details, see Catalogue.
- ⁹⁴ Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
- ⁹⁵ See, e.g., Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 679, Fig. 550. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, pp. XXXI-XXXII; II, Pl. 81. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris, 1930, p. 106, Pl. XXVI, a. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, p. 95, Pl. 46.
- ⁹⁶ Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, p. 107, II, Pl. 83, right. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-07, Pl. XXVI, b.
- ⁹⁷ A reassuring Buddha, published by Marshall, *ASI*, 1919-20, p. 41, Pl. 17, a, and by Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-37, Pl. XXX, No. 54.
- ⁹⁸ Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, pp. 101, 103-04. Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 f., Pl. XXIII, Fig. 39.
- ⁹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 235-37. One might cite as parallel the similar custom in Palmyra; see my *Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur*, Copenhagen, 1928, pp. 28-29, 32, 45, 54, 67, 75, 78, 83 (PS, Nos. 5, 6, 8, 22, 30, 41, 45, 48, 50).
- ¹⁰⁰ According to Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, Kanishka's year of accession was A.D. 78.
- ¹⁰¹ Cf. notes 94 and 95.
- ¹⁰² Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 87 below. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 309, Pl. 38, No. 66.
- ¹⁰³ See notes 96 and 97.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cf. the statue of Shamī (see n. 67) and some sculptures from Shotorak (see Meunié, *MDAFA*, Paris, 1942, p. 60, Pl. XXIX, 90).
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*, p. 33. H. 21".
- ¹⁰⁶ Cf. the Buddha published by Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 202, Pl. XXV, Fig. 43. The base of this statue recalls that of the Buddha of year 22; see notes 96 and 102.
- ¹⁰⁷ Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 497, Fig. 481. Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 82, No. 336, Pl. II, a.
- ¹⁰⁸ Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 495, Fig. 480. Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 81, No. 334, Pl. II, b.
- ¹⁰⁹ Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, pp. 22-23, 26, and Fig. 4 (A.D. 40-50), and in *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, pp. 80, 84, 85; II, Pl. 144. Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, I, Berlin, 1922, p. 19, Pl. IV. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 310-11, 318, n. 69, and Pl. 25. B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 81-82, Pl. 34. H. c. 0.52 m.
- ¹¹⁰ Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, p. 22, and in *Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 80.
- ¹¹¹ Inv. no. 39.732. Purchased at Peshawar, h. 21 3/8".
- ¹¹² Cf. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 312.
- ¹¹³ Inv. no. 11.29, h. 36".
- ¹¹⁴ Inv. no. 1934.146. Published by T.S., *Bulletin Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University*, VI, 1935, pp. 48-49, Fig. Rowland, *AJA*, 46, 1942, p. 228, n. 21.
- ¹¹⁵ Height 24 1/2".
- ¹¹⁶ Chintamani Kar, *Classical Indian Sculpture*, London, 1950, pp. 34-35, No. 60. H. 3' 7 1/2".
- ¹¹⁷ H. 3'.
- ¹¹⁸ Majumdar, *Guide*, No. 276, p. 79. From Loryān Tāngai, h. 16 1/2".
- ¹¹⁹ See below, p. 39.
- ¹²⁰ Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 63, No. 87. See No. 130, No. 6 in the list.
- ¹²¹ H. 13". See No. 130, No. 3 in the list.
- ¹²² Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 1949, pp. 260-63.
- ¹²³ In Professor Rowland's introduction to Shakur's *Guide*, a similar idea is expressed on p. 12.
- ¹²⁴ Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes*, Athens, 1932, pp. 36-37, No. 93, Fig. 17. H. 1.10 m.
- ¹²⁵ Lauffray, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, IV, 1940, pp. 29-30, Pl. V, left. Ch. Picard, *Orientalia Christiana*, XIII, 1947, pp. 266-81.
- ¹²⁶ Cf. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-28.
- ¹²⁷ H. 32 1/2".
- ¹²⁸ See the Buddhas in meditation illustrated on Pl. XIII, 2-3.
- ¹²⁹ Department of Archaeology, No. 8432.
- ¹³⁰ H. 3' 8 1/4". See under No. 256, No. 1 in the list.
- ¹³¹ See No. 262, No. 1 in the list.
- ¹³² From Takht-i-Bahai. Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, I, p. 19, Pl. V. H. c. 0.99 m.
- ¹³³ H. 3'.
- ¹³⁴ Inv. no. 1935.553. H. 26".
- ¹³⁵ Deposited in the Asia Institute, New York City.

NOTES

- 136a See above, nn. 19a-b.
- 137 *Op. cit.*, p. 108.
- 138 *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 312.
- 139 See a relief from Taxila: Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 721, No. 141. Marshall, in III, Pl. 224, No. 141.
- 140 See Göbl in Altheim and Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat*, Wiesbaden, 1954, pp. 101-28.
- 141 Rowland, *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art*, XI, 1949, pp. 14-15. See also Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 319, n. 101.
- 142 Compare also the Buddha published in John Pope, *The Sculpture of Greater India*, New York, 1942, p. 30, ill. on p. 47, No. 13.
- 143 Foucher, *BBA*, Paris, 1917, pp. 119-20, Pl. XI, 2. Marshall, in *Cambridge History of India*, I, Cambridge, 1922, p. 648, Pl. XXXIV, No. 89. Bernet Kempers, in *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II, Munich, 1954, Pl. 70, 1.
- 144 One is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York: No. 16442; another in Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; a third in Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
- 145 Cf., for example, a relief in the Indian Museum, Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 48-49, No. 60, Pl. X, a.
- 146 Dorothy K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1949, p. 98, Pl. 43, No. 216. Inv. No. 54.964.
- 147 Sirén, *Kinas Konst under tre Årtusenden*, I, Stockholm, 1942, pp. 307-08.
- 148 Sirén, *op. cit.*, p. 331, Fig. 222. Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Yun-Kang*, XIV, Kyoto, 1954, Pl. 6.
- 149 Cf. No. 245.
- 150 Sirén, *op. cit.*, pp. 329, 332.
- 151 Sherman Lee, *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 1949, p. 4, Fig. 1. LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sutra*, pp. 29-32, Pl. 3.
- 152 H. 17 1/2". Photo by Mr. Lyons.
- 153 See No. 262, No. 2 in the list.
- 154 In Museum für Völkerkunde, h. 15 3/4".
- 155 Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 143, Pl. XLIV, c. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 507, Fig. 484, and in *Vieille route de l'Inde*, II, p. 343.
- 156 See above, n. 153.
- 157 See under No. 262, No. 6 in the list.
- 158 Cat. No. 151826.
- 159 Cf. the relief illustrated on Pl. X, 3.
- 160 Cf. No. 187.
- 161 H. 16". Cf. Nos. 81, 83-84.
- 162 Cf. also the relief illustrated on Pl. XX, 2.
- 163 See p. 33, Pl. XV, 3.
- 164 Clearly visible in the photograph here reproduced.
- 165 Compare a Buddha seated in meditation, surrounded by worshippers, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 48, No. 56.
- 166 Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 93, Pl. 60. Inv. No. 34.23, diam. 0.24 m.
- 167 Orbeli et Trever, *Orfèvrerie Sasanide*, p. XXXIX, Pl. 5. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans*, pp. 93-95, Pl. 62. Diam. 0.23 m.
- 168 Orbeli et Trever, *op. cit.*, p. XL, Pl. 7. Erdmann, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 57, 1936, p. 205, Fig. 5. Diam. 0.217 m.
- 169 Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans*, p. 95, Pl. 63. Inv. No. 34.33, diam. 0.26 m.
- 170 Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1925, p. 82, Fig. 157. Waldschmidt, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 71-75, Pl. 42. Le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost-Turkestan*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 125, 127, fig. on p. 126.
- 171 Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1944, p. 38, No. 38, Pl. LXXX. Inv. No. 29.19, h. 14 1/4".
- 172 LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sutra*, pp. 59-60, Pl. 20. Inv. No. 13.27, h. 37 1/16".
- 173 Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, I, New York, 1925, pp. 47-48, and p. LVIII; II, Pl. 180. LeRoy Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 56, Pl. 16.
- 174 Sirén, *op. cit.*, I, p. cxxxii. For the *lalitasana* pose, see No. 161, D, and, for a characteristic stance favored by Chinese ladies, No. 310.
- 175 See Catalogue, No. 257.
- 176 Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 869. Bernet Kempers, in *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II, p. 477.
- 177 Renou et Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, II, Paris, 1953, p. 736.
- 178 Cf. above, pp. 32-33, Pl. XIII, 2-3.
- 179 Compare the Mathura pedestal, dated in the year 9(7), taken to be of the Gupta era, therefore A.D. 417: Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 321, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 65; also the Mankuwar Buddha, see Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 74, 85, Fig. 162, dated in the year 129, likewise considered to be of the Gupta era, therefore A.D. 448-49.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AJA*—*American Journal of Archaeology*
Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures—Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures on View at the Gainsborough Studios, New York, probably 1923
ASI—*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
BEFEO—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*
 Bernet Kempers, in *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II, Munich, 1954—A. J. Bernet Kempers, "Die Begegnung der griechisch-römischen Kunst mit dem indischen Kulturkreis," *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. F. Otto and Herbig, vol. VI, 2).
BMFAB—*Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston
 Burgess, *AMI*—Jas. Burgess, *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, I, London, 1883
 Cole, *Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*—Henry H. Cole, *Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures from Yûsuf-zâi*, 1885
 Coomaraswamy, *HIA*—A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927
 Foucher, *AGBG*, I-II—Alfred Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, I, Paris, 1905; II, 1, Paris, 1918; II, 2, Paris, 1922; II, 3, Paris, 1951
 Foucher, *BBA*—Alfred Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*, Paris-London, 1917
 Foucher, *Vies Antérieures*—Alfred Foucher, *Les Vies antérieures du Buddha d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde*, Paris, 1955
 Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*—A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, London, 1901
 Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*—H. Hargreaves, *The Buddha Story in Stone*, Calcutta, 1914
 Hargreaves, *Handbook*—H. Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, Calcutta, 1930
HIA—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*
ILN—*Illustrated London News*
 Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*—in *Memoirs Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XII, 1954
JA—*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS—*Journal American Oriental Society*
JASB—*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bengal
JIAI—*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*
JRAS—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRIBA—*Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*
 Konow, *CII*, II, 1—Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, 1, Calcutta, 1929
 Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*—Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period. An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949
 Marshall, *Taxila*, I-III—J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I-III, London, 1951
MAI—*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
MDAFA—*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*
RAA—*Revue des arts asiatiques*
RINASA—*Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*
 Shakur, *Guide*—M. A. Shakur, *A Guide to the Peshawar Museum*, Part 1, 1954
 Spooner, *Handbook*—D. B. Spooner, *A Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, 1909
 Starcky, *Palmyre*—Jean Starcky, *Palmyre*, Paris, 1952
TOCS—*Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics Society*
ZB—*Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

STORY OF THE BUDDHA

Frontispiece

HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. From the Mardan district. H. 18¼". Even in its present impaired state this head of the Buddha is of rare beauty and power. When one looks at the exquisite modeling of the mouth and the left cheek, one regrets the damage done to the nose and the right side of the head. The hair is rendered in rather thick, wavy strands. Strange to us are two prominent physical characteristics of a Buddha, the *ushnisha*, the cranial protuberance (see p. 18), and the *urna*, the whorl of hair between the eyes. The upper eyelids slanting slightly upward at the outer corners of the half-closed eyes give the Buddha an air of detached contemplation. The dreamy eyes do not, however, indicate a lack of intellectual concentration. On the contrary, the upper eyelids are lowered because the meditating person has fixed his eyes on the tip of his nose, an action that is "the physical concomitant of, or aid to fixing the memory (mind) on the object of thought"; see Chanda, *ASI*, 1929-30, p. 192.

Group II

1 THE SIX-TUSKED ELEPHANT. *Labore*, No. 1156. From Karamar. H. 6½", w. 21¼". The elephant with the six tusks represents one of the innumerable past incarnations of the Buddha. With his two elephant wives he lived happily, until the second wife in jealous rage killed herself, believing wrongly that she had been slighted in favor of the first wife. After successive incarnations she became queen of Benares, and, possessing the gift of remembering her previous existence, she prevailed upon the king to send against her former husband his most skillful hunter with orders to kill the six-tusked elephant and bring the tusks back to her. The hunter succeeded in hitting the elephant with one of his arrows. The strange animal seemed devoid of any thought of harming the man who had hurt him and even allowed him to saw off his magnificent tusks. The hunter hurried back to Benares, but when the queen saw the tusks, "her heart broke." At the left the hunter can be seen hidden in a ditch from which he sends the arrow against the huge

animal, which in all Gandhāra versions is portrayed with one pair of tusks only. To the great surprise of the hunter the elephant kneels down to allow him to saw off his tusks. At the right the hunter is represented twice: first he is shown on the way to Benares with the tusks over his shoulders and then offering them to the royal couple, of whom only one, probably the queen, can be seen. The relief formerly decorated a stair riser.

For the sculptures that follow, the attribution to groups is meant to indicate their place in the sculptural development. A sculpture assigned to Group III may well have been executed during the time indicated for Group IV; see Introduction, p. 24. If two succeeding group numbers are quoted, it means that the sculpture in question may belong either to the latter part of the first or to the beginning of the second group mentioned.

Burgess, *JlAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 40, Pl. 25, 1. Foucher, *BBA*, p. 195, Pl. XXX, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 272, Fig. 138. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 3-4, Fig. I. Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, pp. 121, 123, 125, Fig. 17, 2, on p. 124. Group II

- 2 ADVENTURES AND PUNISHMENT OF MAITRAKANYAKA. *Peshawar*, No. Y. From Jamal Garhi. H. $7\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $14\frac{3}{4}$ ". Another of the early incarnations of the Buddha was Maitrakanyaka, the son of a shipowner who had lost his life at sea. The son first pursued various trades in order to provide for his mother, and, being industrious, was able to hand over to her more and more as the days went by. She repeatedly urged him not to follow his father's example and go to sea. One day when she was reiterating this plea he so far forgot himself that he kicked her in the head. He then went to sea and from then on passed through a

series of experiences corresponding to those he had suffered in his home city. As he had lost his father, so he lost his ship, but as a reward for the increasing amounts of the money he had given his mother from his earnings he was most kindly received at each stop he made, first by four, then by eight, by sixteen, and finally by thirty-two nymphs. His roaming spirit led him on, however, and he came at last to a hell where those sons who strike their mothers are punished. At the right of the relief, seated on his horse, Maitrakanyaka is asking for information from the guardian of the place, an athletic figure with a club in his hand not unlike Heracles. In the next panel one sees a nude man seated on the ground with a burning wheel on his head. The predetermined time has come, and the wheel of red-hot iron moves of itself to the head of Maitrakanyaka, who in this way is to be punished for his act of violence against his mother. According to the texts, the wheel of fire has scarcely come to rest upon his head when he vows to endure this terrible punishment forever with a view to the salvation of humanity. Thereupon he is immediately freed from all suffering.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 52, Pl. XVII, d. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 95. Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, pp. 245-47. Group III

- 3 ADVENTURES AND PUNISHMENT OF MAITRAKANYAKA. *Peshawar*, No. M 13. H. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $15\frac{1}{4}$ ". In this replica the hospitable reception given to Maitrakanyaka by the nymphs, portrayed at the right and in the center, presents a glaring contrast to the scene depicted at the left. When Maitrakanyaka through the open door inquires about the strange sight, the guardian points to the man with the burning wheel as if to say, "Now, it is your turn." In the cos-

tume of Maitrakanyaka on the right one sees the rippling folds over his right leg; see Introduction, p. 28. Group III

- 4 THE FAITHFUL AMARA. *Peshawar*, No. 1367. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $18\frac{1}{2}$ ". This relief may represent the story of the faithful Amara, in the legends either Bodhisattva-Siddhārta in feminine form (Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, pp. 174-75) or the wife of the Bodhisattva. While Amara's husband is away four suitors press her for a rendezvous, which she grants for different hours of the same night. With the aid of her servants she tricks them so that they are packed into baskets which the next morning are brought before the king. At the extreme right, a servant may be helping one of the suitors into a basket while Amara watches, standing under a near-by tree. From among the leaves of the tree a *deva*, or minor deity, looks on approvingly. In the center three male heads peer over the edge of a large container, at the right stands a man who looks like a Brahman with a long staff, and to the left is an elderly woman apparently discussing the unusual sight. To the left of this group sit the king and queen on their thrones under a flat-topped canopy with sloping sides. They, too, are interested in the spectacle of "three men in a basket," or aroused by the noise of the discussion going on outside. At Bharhut the scene before the king and his court is portrayed with four baskets, three of them uncovered and each containing only one man; see Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 50-51, Pl. V, 5. The representation of drapery by paired, parallel lines appears here on the right leg of the queen. For the story, see Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, pp. 178-86.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 53, Pl. XVIII, c (doubts the identification pro-

posed by Foucher). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 93-94. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 83. Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, p. 179, Fig. 27.

Group III (IV)

- 5 SON OF BLIND ASCETICS IS KILLED BY THE KING. *Peshawar*, No. 1891. From Kot. H. 7". A Brahman, after long years spent in study, finally married, but after his wife had borne a son they decided to renounce the world. They went to the jungle, lived in separate huts, and ate only vegetables. In time both became blind and entirely dependent on their son Syāma. The king of Benares while out hunting shot the son by accident, sought out the parents, and vowed to renounce his throne in order to serve them in his stead. While they were grieving over the dead body, Syāma, who was none other than the Bodhisattva, was called back to life. At the left in the panel the king stands before the blind parents, who are seated in their huts on basketry stools. Next one sees them led to the body of Syāma, and, finally, on the right they are shown in lamentation. According to a Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century, this incident took place about ten miles from the present Charsadda. A conventionalized honeysuckle flower on an inverted-lotus base decorates the right-hand end of the panel.

Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1922-23, p. 98, Pl. X, d. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 20-21, 59, Pl. V, b. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 24, 98, Pl. VII, b. Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, pp. 269-74. Group III

- 6 VISVANTARA GIVES AWAY THE CHOICE ELEPHANT. *Peshawar*, No. 1366. From Sahri Bahlol. H. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $15\frac{3}{4}$ ". A very popular *jātaka* in Gandhāra was the story of the next to the last incarnation of the Buddha, when

as Prince Visvantara he realized on earth the perfection of charity. The neighboring country was suffering from a prolonged drought, and the king in desperation sent some Brahmans to beg from the ever charitable Visvantara a miraculous white elephant, which had the power of producing rain whenever desired. Visvantara without hesitation presented the elephant to the Brahmans and was consequently banished from the kingdom on the angry protests of his father's subjects. The wonderful elephant can be seen at the left, and in front of it are Visvantara and a Brahman; the former is about to pour water on the Brahman's hand. In every act of property transfer, this old Indian ritual was necessary to make it irrevocable. The figure on the right with arms thrown up in consternation is probably one of the disgruntled subjects. The drapery folds on both Visvantara and the subject are indicated by paired, parallel lines. By at least the sixth century the story was located in Gandhāra in what is now Shahbazgarhi, ten miles east of Mardan (Hargreaves). For the story see Foucher, *BBA*, p. 123, and *AGBG*, I, pp. 283-85.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 52, Pl. XVIII, e. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 21-22, 93. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 24-25, 82. Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, p. 327.

Group IV

- 7 B U D D H A - T O - B E T H R O W S
F L O W E R S A T D Ī P A N K A R A
B U D D H A. *Lahore*. From Sikri Stūpa.
H. 13", w. 13 3/4". The *jātaka* most often
illustrated in Gandhāra was that of the so-
called Dīpankara Buddha, who, accord-
ing to the legends, was the earliest of the
twenty-four predecessors of the Buddha.
Once, when he announced his plan to visit
a certain town, the king reserved all avail-

able flowers that he might pay proper homage to the Dīpankara Buddha. In the consequent dearth of flowers a young ascetic by the name of Sumati was unable to buy any until he chanced to meet a young girl who had been fortunate enough to obtain some lotuses. Five of these he bought from her, on condition that in all future incarnations she should be his wife. Meanwhile, Dīpankara arrived and Sumati tossed the flowers before him. Miraculously, however, they did not fall to the ground, but remained suspended about the head of Dīpankara. At the sight of this miracle Sumati prostrated himself before the Buddha, let his long hair down, and spread it over the mud, so that Dīpankara might cross over without soiling his feet. At the same time he vowed that he, too, wanted to become a savior of the world. Dīpankara in turn predicted that in time Sumati would be born as the Buddha Sākyamuni, that is, the sage of the Sākya tribe, for the benefit of mankind. A second miracle happened: Sumati soared up into the sky and was seen by the inhabitants kneeling in the air before the Buddha. On the relief Sumati and the girl are seen at the left bargaining, the latter holding the seven lotuses in one hand and accepting the purse from the young Brahman with the other. Farther to the right looms the colossal figure of the Dīpankara Buddha accompanied by a monk. Sumati, who in his left hand holds the obligatory water flask of the Brahmans (see below, Nos. 430, 431), first tosses the flowers before the Buddha, and when they remained suspended in the air he falls to the ground, his hair spread out like a mat. Finally he is seen in mid-air, next to the balcony of the first scene, kneeling before the miraculous Dīpankara, his hands clasped in adoration. The halo of Dīpankara is unusually large, and

the central locks along his forehead show the characteristic almond-shaped form; see Introduction, p. 31. For the incised circle on the right hand of Dīpankara, see No. 60. For the Dīpankara story, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 273-79. Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 29-34. Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XIII, 1950, pp. 75-78.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 199-209, Fig. II. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 275, Fig. 139. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 4-6, Fig. II.

Group III

- 8 BUDDHA-TO-BE IN THE TUSHITA HEAVEN. *Lahore*. Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 14 1/4". Prior to his last incarnation the Buddha-to-be was born as a god in the Tushita heaven. Seated on an inverted-lotus throne, he is surrounded by worshipping deities, of whom the lower ones are dressed in the royal garb of Indra, those above as Brahma. The Buddha-to-be is meditating on when and where he is to be born for the last time. For a similar representation of the Bodhisattva, see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 91, Fig. 349.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 247-53, Fig. VIII. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 286, Fig. 145. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 6-7, Fig. III.

Group III

- 9 DREAM OF QUEEN MĀYĀ. *Lahore*, No. 2335. Sikri. H. 7 3/8", w. 10 1/8". Māyā, the wife of King Suddhodana in Kapilavastu, is asleep under a flat-topped canopy with sloping sides. She dreams that a white elephant enters her right side; actually it is the Buddha-to-be, who descends into her from the Tushita heaven. Cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, Figs. 149 and 160, a, pp. 295 and 313.

Foucher, *BBA*, Pl. III, A, 1. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 7-8, Fig. IV.

Group III

- 10 DREAM OF MĀYĀ (right). INTERPRETATION OF DREAM. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 7", w. 14". At the right of the lower tier the dream of the queen is again represented. Here Māyā is guarded by two Yavanis, the Greek female guards who were much sought after to watch over Indian harems (cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 69-72, and *infra*, Nos. 39-41, 44). In the left-hand panel a Brahman, perhaps the sage Asita, explains the meaning of the dream to the royal couple: the queen has conceived a son who will become either a Universal Monarch or a Buddha. All three are seated in the European way. In the upper tier are worshippers, each one under an Indian arch like those on the Bimārān reliquary (see Introduction, p. 23). Under the arch are round pendants (cf. a relief in Delhi: Kramrisch, *The Art of India Through the Ages*, London, 1955, pp. 201-02, Pl. 42); between the arches are panels, each one enclosing a simplified version of the Indo-Persepolitan column (cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 225, Figs. 102, 103, and below, No. 364).

Group III

- 11 INTERPRETATION OF MĀYĀ'S DREAM. *Lahore*, No. 2332. Sikri. H. 6 3/8", w. 11 7/8". The royal couple to whom the Brahman explains the dream here too is seated under the flat-topped canopy with sloping sides; see No. 9. At the right an amorino is standing on a waterpot base in front of a tree; see below, Nos. 369-71.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 297, Fig. 150.

Group III

- 12 INTERPRETATION OF MĀYĀ'S DREAM. *Peshawar*, No. 2067. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 5 3/8". The dream is here being explained to King Suddhodana alone, who is seated

on a throne under a round canopy. On his left the sage Asita is represented, the younger Brahman on the other side being his nephew Naradatta. Each holds in his left hand the characteristic water flask of the Brahmans, and is seated on a basketry stool; see above, No. 7. In the background, leaning against the back of the throne, two female attendants hold in their outer hands fly whisks, symbol of royalty; see Sivaramamurti: *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras, 1942, pp. 97-98. Stringy folds characterize the drapery. The surface of this and other reliefs, formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan, has suffered greatly, as may be seen by comparing the present photographs with those published in Foucher, *AGBG*.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 76, Fig. 7. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 28, Fig. 7. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 299, Fig. 151. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131 (A.D. 50-100). Schlumberger, *JA*, CCXLIII, 1955, p. 277, n. 2. Group II

- 13 MĀYĀ GIVES BIRTH TO SIDDHĀRTA. *Peshawar*, No. 127. Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 10 1/4", w. 15 1/2". While Māyā was on her way to visit her father, she rested in the Lumbinī gardens, and there, standing under a sal tree, she was delivered of her child. She is supported by her sister Mahāprajāpatī, next to whom is a woman holding in one hand a palm branch, in the other a waterpot, indispensable on all occasions where consecrated water was needed. The child, who is emerging from Māyā's right side, already has a halo around his head. He is received with outstretched arms by the god Indra, in back of whom stands the god Brahma. To the extreme right stands still a third god, his hands clasped in worship. The rejoicing which now took place

in the heavenly world is indicated by the musical instruments visible in the upper left background. Similar symbols occur on a relief in a private collection in Mathura; see Coomaraswamy, *RAA*, V, 1928, p. 251, Pl. LIX, Fig. 8. The drapery folds are indicated by the paired, parallel lines.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 8, 39. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 23, 65. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 27, 83. Group IV

- 14 BIRTH OF SIDDHĀRTA AND THE SEVEN STEPS. *Karachi*. H. 26", w. 29". The divine child is here shown twice, first being received by the reverent hands of Indra as he emerges from the side of Māyā, albeit only the outline of the tiny body is visible, and secondly standing on the ground where according to tradition he took seven steps in the direction of each of the cardinal points. Behind Indra is another god similarly dressed who in jubilation waves his scarflike upper garment in the air. Instead of musical instruments only, we here see the heavenly musicians themselves in action in the upper background. As for the drapery folds, there is a definite effort toward naturalism and plasticity. This relief is of such fine workmanship that one regrets that the head of Māyā has been practically destroyed. A relief in the Guides Mess, Mardan, portrays the episode of the seven steps, and as it is stylistically similar to No. 12 and is of comparable height, it probably belongs to the same series; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 307, Fig. 155.

Group II

- 15 BIRTH OF SIDDHĀRTA AND THE SEVEN STEPS. *Lahore*, No. 1353. H. 7 1/2", w. 12 1/4". This version is topped by an acanthus frieze and framed on the left with a pilaster having a narrow, rec-

tangular panel and an Indo-Corinthian capital; cf. below, No. 476, and Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 234-40. The scarf-waving god here too stands behind Indra; back of him is Brahma.

Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 8-9, Fig. V. Group III

- 16 BATH OF THE NEWBORN CHILD. *Peshawar*, No. 2071. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. $10\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 16". Standing on a tripod under a canopy, the divine child is held by two kneeling women while Indra and Brahma, behind them, pour water over him from two small globular flasks held in their right hands. Indra's other hand holds the thunderbolt. Next to him is another god in princely costume, his hands clasped in adoration, and at the left of Brahma a fourth god, clad as a Brahman, his hands likewise clasped in worship. Of interest are the zigzag folds on the skirt worn by the god to the right of Indra; see Introduction, p. 26. In the main the folds of the drapery are rendered by means of ridges, running in crowded, parallel curves. For a relief with similar subject formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 301, Fig. 152.

Burgess, *JLAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 77, Fig. 8 on p. 76 (the lower part). Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 140, Fig. 92 (the lower part). Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 308-10, Fig. 156 on p. 309. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131 (A.D. 50-100). Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103. Group II

- 17 MĀYĀ AND SIDDHĀRTA RETURN TO KAPILAVASTU. *Karachi*. From Rawalpindi. H. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $10\frac{1}{4}$ ". A man is leading a covered wagon drawn by two horses through a wooded region. Inside the wagon one catches a glimpse of Māyā; the child, however, is not there, but is

seated on the wagon pole and appears almost as big as his mother. On a relief in Calcutta, Māyā is shown inside a similar wagon, drawn by bullocks, but with the child in her arms; see Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 40, No. 23, also below, No. 148.

Group III

- 18 BATH OF SIDDHĀRTA (right). RETURN TO KAPILAVASTU. PROCESSION OF CITIZENS. *Lahore*, No. 807. From Jamal Garhi. H. 6", w. $17\frac{1}{2}$ ". In the lower section at the right Indra and Brahma are pouring water on the newborn child. Indra here, too, holds a thunderbolt in his left hand. In the center Māyā is carried in a litter by two men. She holds the child in her lap and is preceded by a mounted guard. The horse is in profile, the rider in three-quarter view, whereas Māyā and the litter are facing front in order that we may see inside. Above this lower zone is a laurel molding, topped by a panel representing a wooden balustrade, like the one in No. 470. On one relief the litter with the mother and child is closed; see Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, p. 10, Fig. VI (Lahore).

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 310, Fig. 157 (picture incomplete to the left). Group III

- 19 BIRTH OF SIDDHĀRTA'S GROOM CHANDAKA AND OF HIS HORSE KANTHAKA. *Karachi*. Formerly Lahore, No. 1966. H. $8\frac{3}{8}$ ". At the time of Siddhārta's birth "five hundred servants were born, Chandaka foremost, and five hundred horses, Kanthaka foremost." On our relief a number of horses are peering over a wall in the royal stable. At the left is the father of Chandaka, the boy who is to become Siddhārta's groom, and at the right his mother. She is nursing him, while his father feeds a mare suckling her foal, Kanthaka, later Siddhārta's favorite horse.

At the extreme right is part of another panel in which a *yakshini*, an ancient nature spirit, stands on an inverted-lotus flower.

Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, p. 11, Fig. VII. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 11, Fig. 22. Codrington, in *Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1949, p. 36, No. 112.

Group III

- 20 SIDDHĀRTA'S HOROSCOPE IS EXPLAINED TO SUDDHODANA AND MĀYĀ. *Peshawar*, No. 1541. Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 12". After the return from the Lumbinī gardens, the sage Asita interprets the child's horoscope to the royal couple, a scene which differs from that of No. 11 in one respect only: the presence of the child. Asita prophesied that the child would become a Buddha, although his physical characteristics, such as the *urna*, the little whorl of hair between the eyes, and the *ushnīsha*, the cranial protuberance, would speak equally well for a future Universal Monarch. The woman holding the child is probably Māyā's sister Mahāprajāpatī, soon to become Siddhārta's stepmother at Māyā's early death. The boy behind Asita is his pupil and nephew Naradatta. The zigzag folds on the king's costume are reminiscent of those of the god in No. 16.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 24, 97. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 28, 83. Group II

- 21 SIDDHĀRTA'S HOROSCOPE IS EXPLAINED. *Labore*, No. 101. From Naogram. H. $8\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $13\frac{1}{4}$ ". Instead of being held by Māyā's sister, the child here sits on the lap of the sage. Over the heads of the royal family are three canopies, the lateral ones with sloping sides, the center one in the form of an Indian arch. The royal couple and the sage all sit in the European manner. In the drapery there

are some rippling folds; others are indicated by paired, parallel lines.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 12, Pl. 138, 2. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 315, Fig. 161.

Group III (IV)

- 22 INTERPRETATION OF HOROSCOPE (right). SIDDHĀRTA IN SCHOOL. *Labore*, No. 2062. From Sikri. H. $8\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 16". In the bottom tier simplified Indo-Persian columns separate the individual panels. To the right is another version of the horoscope scene; to the left the sculptor has portrayed Siddhārta's first day in school. Seated with a board across his knees, he is writing down sixty-four different alphabets in the presence of his stupefied fellow pupils. The middle tier is decorated by a balustrade between a torus molding of laurel leaves and an acanthus frieze; the top tier shows a series of amorini under Indian arches, separated by simplified Indo-Persian columns, and along the top a saw-tooth molding. Our Nos. 29, 147, and 149 originally belonged to this same sculpture.

Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 247 and Fig. 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 323, Fig. 165.

Group III

- 23 SIDDHĀRTA RIDES TO SCHOOL. *Peshawar*, No. 1719. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C, 1912. H. $6\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $10\frac{1}{4}$ ". The prince, riding on a ram, raises his right hand to acknowledge the homage of the men in front of him. In the background stands a woman holding in her left hand what seems to be a cornucopia. For another representation of the same scene, see Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, pp. 109-10, Pl. XXXI, a. Hargreaves, *JRAS*, 1951, pp. 131-33, Pl. IV, 1.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 105, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 5, above left. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 100. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 90.

Group III

24 **SIDDHĀRTA IN SCHOOL.** *Lahore*, No. 2014. From Sikri. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 9". The haloed Siddhārta and three fellow pupils stand to the right of the seated schoolmaster Visvamitra, on whose knees rests a writing board similar to the one held by Siddhārta in No. 22. The pupil standing at the extreme right holds a similar board in his right hand; he and the two pupils next to him each carry an inkpot in the left hand. Cf. a relief in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 41, No. 28. Group I

25 **SIDDHĀRTA IN SCHOOL.** *Peshawar*, No. 347. H. $7\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ". Seated at the left on a wicker chair is the schoolmaster Visvamitra, who is writing on a board held in his lap. In front of him stands Siddhārta, recognizable by his halo, holding in his hand a bowl and a waterpot of the shape called *kamandalu*. The writing on the board is in Kharoshthī letters and may represent the writing exercise of the day. The drapery folds are indicated by paired, parallel lines. On another similar fragment, formerly at Peshawar, the letters of the writing tablet have been read as meaning "The welfare of oneself and others"; see Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, pp. 245-47, Pl. LXVI, 1, and Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 12-13, Fig. IX.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 6, 54. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 25, 76. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 28-29, 105. Group IV

26 **THE STATE ELEPHANT SENT TO SIDDHĀRTA.** *Peshawar*, No. 2065. H. $15\frac{1}{2}$ ". From Sahri Bahlol. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. The child grew up, and the time came for him to marry. He chose for wife the beautiful Yasodharā, but her father refused his consent on account of Siddhārta's notorious lack of interest in any athletic exercise. Siddhārta declared himself willing to compete with

any opponent in any athletic sport, and to the great surprise of all he easily defeated all contestants. His father Suddhodana then ordered the great elephant of state to bring back the prince from the field. Probably our relief portrays this event. Suddhodana is the man in princely costume to the right, with hands clasped in adoration, followed by the royal umbrella-bearer and the elephant with the richly decorated howdah. Siddhārta himself was probably represented on the part that is missing. The halo behind the head of Suddhodana is no obstacle to the interpretation here given, as kings as well as gods and the Buddha are entitled to this distinguishing mark. A relief with similar subject was published by Burgess, *AMI*, Pl. 141, 2 right. The clasped hands of "Suddhodana" do not, however, seem appropriate for this particular episode, so perhaps the present sculpture is rather to be compared with one on which a seated monk receives the visit of a princely person who arrives with his umbrella-carrying servant and an elephant with a chair on its back; see Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1926-27, pp. 232-33, Pl. XLVIII, b (then in Peshawar). As to the throne, one may compare that of Ardokhsho from Begram; see Ghirshman, *MDAFA*, XII, 1946, pp. 78-81, Pls. XVII, XVIII, and XLV, B.G. 175.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103, G. Group II

27 **WRESTLERS.** *Peshawar*, No. 143. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". Either this relief portrays one phase of the physical education of Siddhārta, wrestling, or it represents one of the bouts he had to win in order to qualify for the hand of Yasodharā.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 10, 40. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 25, 66. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 29, 83. Group III

- 28 **WRESTLERS.** *Peshawar*, no number. From Sahri Bahlol. H. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $17\frac{1}{4}$ ". In the center an amorino stands against the background of a large wide-open acanthus flower, his feet on an inverted-lotus base; at the right is another wrestling scene.

Group III

- 29 **SIDDHĀRTA COMPETES IN WRESTLING AND TUG-OF-WAR.** *Lahore*, No. 2031. From Sikri. H. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $11\frac{3}{4}$ ". In the bottom tier at the left is a wrestling scene and to the right a "tug-of-war" between two individuals. This sport is not mentioned in any of the pertinent texts. Cf. our No. 179 and a relief from Shah-ji-ki-Dheri: Spooner, *ASI*, 1908-09, pp. 54-55, Pl. XIV, c. This fragment belongs to the same relief as Nos. 22, 147, and 149.

Group III

- 30 **SIDDHĀRTA COMPETES IN WRESTLING AND ARCHERY. SIDDHĀRTA AND THE DEAD ELEPHANT.** *Peshawar*, No. 1906. From Jamal Garhi. H. $9\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $20\frac{3}{4}$ ". The two subjects depicted at the left and in the center of the bottom tier no doubt represent episodes from the athletic contests in which Siddhārta qualified himself as a worthy suitor for the hand of Yasodharā. At the left is a wrestling scene, in which the participants wear the shorts of the professional athletes (see No. 445); in the center an archer shoots an arrow. In both panels the standing person is no doubt the umpire, the seated personage probably Suddhodana, Siddhārta's father. The panel at the right illustrates the events following Siddhārta's victory. As the state elephant was coming out of the city gate, Siddhārta's cousin Dēvadatta in an attack of jealous rage killed the elephant with a single blow. Siddhārta, however, picked up the huge animal "with one hand and hurled

it over the seven walls and moats of the city." The three panels in the top tier all show the Buddha, his hands covered, seated in the attitude of meditation and flanked by two worshippers on either side. A running pattern of leaves from the pipal tree, edged by a molding of laurel leaves, divides the two tiers. Above the top section there is a leaf-and-dart molding.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 25-26, 59. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 29-30, 94.

Group III

- 31 **ROYAL CHAPLAIN INTRODUCES YASODHARĀ.** *Lahore*, No. 211. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ". At the Indian courts the official middleman in matrimonial matters was the royal chaplain. The natural explanation of this relief is, therefore, that the Brahman portrayed in the center is the royal chaplain who brings his choice, Yasodharā, into the presence of Siddhārta, here portrayed in superhuman size. The woman next to Yasodharā is probably a female Brahman, as she carries the characteristic waterpot and wears no jewels. Yasodharā is dressed in a filmy, almost transparent costume and wears, besides earrings and a necklace, a girdle band and bangle. Siddhārta's scarf is rendered in quite a plastic way; his *dhōṭī* shows both zigzag and rippling folds. The modelling of the four figures in the front plane is of quite superior quality.

Cole, *Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*, Pl. 5, row 1 right. Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, p. 34, Pl. 8, No. 4. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 329, Fig. 168; II, p. 256, Fig. 460 on pp. 339 and 839, add. to I, p. 329. In the photographs published in Cole, *JIAI* and in *AGBG*, I, the Bodhisattva is lacking.

Group II

- 32 **ROYAL CHAPLAIN INTRODUCES YASODHARĀ.** *Peshawar*, No. 2052. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H.

12 1/4", w. 12 1/4". The chaplain and Yasodharā are here, again, to the right; the lightly clad girls to the left are probably members of Siddhārta's harem. As in No. 31, Siddhārta is of colossal size. On his head is a richly decorated turban, and above it a round canopy. The halo is here elaborated by an incised circle near the edge.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103, D. Group II

- 33 MARRIAGE OF SIDDHĀRTA AND YASODHARĀ. *Peshawar*, no number. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 5 1/2", w. 7 1/8". According to Indian ritual, the bride is given away by her father in his house. The two parties here join hands over the holy fire, and later will walk around it. The man in princely costume to the right is probably Suddhodana, Siddhārta's father, and the prince in the background represents Yasodharā's father. In back of the bride is the indispensable train-bearer. The waterpot in front of Yasodharā contained the water with which her father has sealed the "transfer" of his daughter to the royal house of the Sākyas; cf. No. 6. Above the two Indo-Corinthian capitals is an architrave, which is cut away over the heads of the three persons in the center. We shall hereafter refer to this architectural feature as "interrupted" architrave; see Introduction, p. 37. For marriage scenes, see: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 334-36. Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1925-26, pp. 174-75, Pl. LXVI, a-d. Group III

- 34 MARRIAGE OF SIDDHĀRTA AND YASODHARĀ (right). BRIDAL PROCESSION. *Lahore*, No. 1022. Perhaps from Koi, between Sanghao and Karkoi. H. 7 7/8", w. 13 1/2". Siddhārta and Yasodharā join hands over the holy fire in the bottom section to the right. Behind Siddhārta stands Suddhodana; Yasodharā is

accompanied by her train-bearer. The panel on the left shows the bridal procession in which the bride is transported from her parents' house to that of the bridegroom. The litter is carried by two men; in front rides Siddhārta, his left hand evidently pointing backwards. In the top part groups of amorini, engaged in athletic exercises, are separated by trees; in the middle between two torus moldings of laurel is a rinceau of undulating vine with half-acanthi recalling Sasanian stucco and silver work. See Baltrusaitis, in *Survey of Persian Art*, I, 1938, p. 613, Fig. 194, b, on p. 616, and Pl. 221 A. For a similar scene in Calcutta, see Burgess, *AMI*, p. 14, Pl. 148, No. 10; also Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 38, No. 11.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 336-37, Fig. 174, b. Group III

- 35 BRIDAL PROCESSION. *Karachi*. From Taxila. H. 15 3/4". The closed litter, here likewise carried by two men, may convey Yasodharā, or Māyā returning from the Lumbini gardens. In favor of the former one may cite the resemblance to No. 34, including the absence of a child; see our Nos. 18 and 148.

Group III (IV)

- 36 THE FIRST MEDITATION. *Lahore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 14 3/4". According to the texts, the first meditation of Siddhārta took place at a plowing match that his father had taken him to see. During a midday pause Siddhārta was filled with grief when he saw the tired oxen, the men sweating in the sun, and the birds devouring the insects that the plows had turned up. He found a secluded place near by, sat down under a jambo tree, and through the love and pity produced by his reflections was swept into a state of ecstasy. In the upper background four wor-

shipping figures in princely robes are *devas*, minor deities, constant but invisible attendants of the Bodhisattva. The prince below at the right is Suddhodana, Siddhārta's father. When he found Siddhārta after the match he saw to his consternation that the jambo still shaded his son, although the shadows of the other trees had moved; consequently he fell down in worship before him. For the discussion of the drapery folds on the right knee of Siddhārta, see Introduction, pp. 31, 35.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 277-85, Fig. X. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 342, Fig. 175. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 14-15, Fig. X. Group III

- 37 THE GODS EXHORT SIDDHĀRTA TO RENOUNCE THE WORLD. *Taxila*, No. 365. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 8¾". Asita had prophesied that Siddhārta might become either ruler of the world or a Buddha. In the night in which Siddhārta was to make the momentous decision, Indra and Brahma, together with other gods, decided to visit him in his palace in order to persuade him to choose the Buddhahood. Indra, who is seated to the right, raises his right hand as in argument. Brahma, seated opposite, clasps his hands in adoration or entreaty. Siddhārta himself is enthroned under a canopy supported by slender shafts that rise from the acanthus capitals of Indo-Corinthian pillars. Standing on each capital, with one arm around the shaft, is a little, naked *yaksha* leaning inwards. Siddhārta's hair is bound in a small double loop on top of his head; his left hand holds a flask in his lap. He seems already to have made up his mind, as his right hand is raised in the reassuring attitude; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 88, 219-21, 838, add. to I, pp. 320-22. It must, however, be admitted that both the coiffure and the water flask are

unusual for Siddhārta, so perhaps one should rather identify the enthroned figure with the Buddha of the future, Maitreya; see Meunié, *Shotorak*, *MDAFA*, X, 1942, pp. 37-38. For similar representations see Burgess, *AMI*, p. 9, Pl. 118, 2 (from Natthu); Meunié, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII, Nos. 45 (from Shotorak) and 46 (in Munich); Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 251, Fig. 434, c (from Karamar).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 16, No. 7, Pl. IX, c. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, pp. 712-13, No. 93. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 217, No. 93. Meunié, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38, Pl. XIII, No. 47. Group III

- 38 LIFE IN THE PALACE. *Gai Collection*, *Peshawar*. H. 10½", w. 15". A glimpse of the life of ease and luxury that Siddhārta was living is furnished by this relief, on which he is shown reclining on a couch, fanned by female attendants, while listening to female musicians, playing the harp, the flute, and the drum. For these instruments, see Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, pp. 144-48, Pl. XIII, 3, 6, and 9. Group II

- 39 A-B. LIFE IN THE PALACE (A). THE RENUNCIATION (B). *Karachi*, No. 507. Formerly in Lahore, No. 567. From Jamrūd. H. 24¾", w. 20½". In the top section Siddhārta is reclining on a couch, under an arched canopy, fanned and entertained by female attendants with music and dance. The lady seated on the edge of the couch is undoubtedly Yasodharā. The fateful scene of the Great Departure in the lower section reveals, however, the true mentality of the prince. Yasodharā is now asleep lying on the couch, and sleep has likewise overpowered the two female drummers seated on the

ground in front of the couch. Siddhārta steps down carefully, giving orders to his groom Chandaka, whom we may recognize in the man standing in back of the couch to the left, to saddle his horse. Two Yavanīs stand guard in each of the two niches flanking the couch, but they evidently hear nothing. Each niche is surmounted by an Indian arch with a coffered ceiling. From the balcony between the arches five divinities peer over the balustrade: in the center is the head of a bull, flanked on the left by the bust of the sun god and on the right by the bust of the moon god. The bull probably symbolizes the zodiacal sign Taurus, and all five images no doubt indicate the position of the heavenly bodies when—in the artist's opinion—the flight took place. The architectural framework is carved with great care: the simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns in the upper section and below them their orthodox counterparts with bull capitals, also the coffered ceilings in the niches. The busy parakeets on top of the niches are probably placed there to present a striking contrast to the immobile Yavanīs.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 10, Pl. 127. Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 36, Pl. 12, 1. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, pp. 129–31, Fig. 81. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 16–17, Fig. XII. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 173, Fig. 391 (only the balustrade and the five divinities). Wellesz, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 6, Pl. 8. Chintamani Kar, *Classical Indian Sculpture*, London, 1950, p. 33, Fig. 54.

Group II

40 LIFE IN THE PALACE. THE RENUNCIATION. THE GREAT DEPARTURE. *Labore*, No. 463. H. 24½", w. 17". In the top part Siddhārta and Yasodharā are seen conversing, sitting on chairs in European fashion under a semicircular arch, while on either side female attend-

ants appear in the flat-topped arches with sloping sides, two alertly poised, one asleep on the floor. In the middle section the forms of the niches are reversed: semicircular arches flank an alcove with sloping sides. Here, Siddhārta is stepping down from his couch while to the left his groom Chandaka holds Kanthaka, his favorite steed. To the right a Yavanī seems to look with much interest at what goes on in the two adjoining rooms. The Great Departure finally comes in the bottom part, in which Siddhārta and Kanthaka, both rendered frontally, leave the city; cf. No. 168, D. At the right the faithful groom holds the royal umbrella over his master's head, while at the left the evil Māra, bow in hand, makes a last but futile attempt to dissuade Siddhārta from his enterprise, promising him the kingship of the world in seven days if he will only desist. Farther to the left is Vajrapāni, whom we shall see from now on as Siddhārta's constant companion and guard. Here his face is that of a bearded Heracles. On other reliefs he may likewise be bearded, but his features are those of Zeus, Silenus, or Pan; on still others he is unbearded and looks more like Hermes, Dionysos, or Eros. But his chief attribute, the thunderbolt, symbolical instrument of his power, is always the same. Of the three persons in the right foreground the first may be one of the men ordered by King Suddhodana to watch the gates of the city; in the other two one might see representatives of the gods who came to witness the great event. All three sections are topped by rows of acanthus leaves. The one above the middle panel is of the usual type, whereas the one belonging to the bottom part seems to be of the type most clearly seen in No. 191.

Simpson, *JRIBA*, I, 1894, p. 106, Fig. 10. Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 39, Pl. 19, 1.

Group III

- 41 **LIFE IN THE PALACE. YASODHARĀ ASLEEP.** *Peshawar*, No. U (M 20). From Jamal Garhi. H. $10\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. $10\frac{1}{4}$ ". In the upper part of the fragment Yasodharā is seen asleep on the couch, guarded by a Yavanī, behind whom four female musicians are crowded. The flutist and the harpist still seem to be playing, but the drummer is fast asleep. In the lower panel the man with the royal umbrella is Chandaka, so undoubtedly the Great Departure was represented here. A leaf-and-dart molding separates the two parts, and framing the relief is a stylized pattern of tendrils.
Shakur, *Guide*, p. 94. Group III
- 42 **SLEEPING WOMAN.** *Taxila*. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 2". Bust of female figure, her hair drawn up in a pompadour above the forehead, the rest confined by a jewelled bandeau. Under the left arm rests a musical instrument; she is undoubtedly to be identified with one of the musicians from a Great Departure scene.
Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 714, No. 100. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 218, No. 100. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 132 (A.D. 100-130). Group II or III
- 43 **SLEEPING WOMEN.** *Taxila*, No. 213. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $19\frac{1}{2}$ ". Originally belonging to the same relief as No. 42, this fragment presents three sleeping women. The one in the background once held a six-stringed instrument in her left hand, and the two others probably portray exhausted dancers. The girl at the right, who is resting her weary body on a wicker chair, wears a profusion of jewelry: earrings, necklace, beaded girdle, and anklets.
Hargreaves, *Taxila*, II, p. 714, No. 99. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 218. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 132 (A.D. 100-130). Group II
- 44 **THE RENUNCIATION.** *Peshawar*, No. 1718. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10, Mound C. H. 8". As in No. 41, Yasodharā is asleep on the couch, guarded by a Yavanī. Siddhārta has stepped down on the footstool in front of the bed, and is about to mount Kanthaka, which, it seems, has been brought into the bedroom itself by Chandaka.
Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 8, second row. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 27-28, 100. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 31-32, 84. Group III
- 45 **LIFE IN THE PALACE (right). THE GREAT DEPARTURE.** *Peshawar*, No. 457. H. $8\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $26\frac{1}{4}$ ". At the right female dancers and musicians are entertaining Siddhārta, who is seated in the meditation pose on the inverted-lotus throne placed on a low, rectangular platform with side rails. At the left the prince is riding off on Kanthaka, whose hoofs are supported by two *yakshas* so that no noise can penetrate to the ears of the guards. Vajrapāni appears behind Siddhārta to the right; in front of him, as if to block his way, stand Māra and at the extreme left Indra and Brahma. Between the two panels is an Indo-Corinthian pilaster decorated with a female divinity, standing in a Praxitelean pose on a lotus pedestal, her left arm resting on a small altar. On her head she seems to wear a rectangular crown and is therefore probably to be identified with the city goddess of Kapilavastu, whom we find also on other replicas of the Departure scene; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 360 and Figs. 183 and 184, a; Foucher, *BBA*, p. 175, Pl. XXVII; Monneret de Villard, *Annali Lateranensi*, XVII, 1953, pp. 344-45; Ing-holt, *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, No. 31, New Haven, 1954.
Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 1, 57-58. Har-

greaves, *Handbook*, pp. 27-28, 79. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 31-32, 105. Group III

- 46 **SIDDHĀRTA EXCHANGES CLOTHES WITH THE HUNTER.** *Lahore*, No. 2215. H. 5½". After travelling a certain distance from the capital, Siddhārta dismounts. A hunter passes by, and to him Siddhārta gives his princely garments, receiving in exchange the simple one of the hunter, probably a dress of that reddish yellow color associated even today in India with beggars. At the right Vajrapāni stands next to a stylized tree; at the left Chandaka shows utter amazement at what is going on. Cf. a relief in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 44, No. 42. Group III

- 47 **THE GREAT DEPARTURE.** *Lahore*, No. 256. H. 8", w. 7¼". The front legs of Siddhārta's horse Kanthaka are seen borne by a *yaksha*. At the left stands the wicked Māra dressed in scale armor and shouldering his bow. For similar armor, cf. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, I, p. 252, and Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 15-16 and 842, add. to I, p. 402. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, III, Paris, 1946, pp. 127-32.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 11, Pl. 130, 1. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 99, Fig. 51. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 201, Fig. 404.

Group II or III

- 48 **THE GREAT DEPARTURE (right). EXCHANGE OF CLOTHES.** *Lahore*, No. 802. H. 10½". In the panel to the right Siddhārta and his horse are represented in profile leaving the city, Māra in front view as in No. 45; in the background Chandaka can be seen with the royal umbrella. A slightly different version of No. 46 is presented in the panel to the left. Vajrapāni here, too, stands to

the right next to Siddhārta, but the hunter is in front of a tree, and at his feet lies the body of a straight-horned antelope. At the left stands Chandaka holding in a fold of his cloak the princely jewels which Siddhārta has just given him. In the top section a Buddha in meditation with hands covered is flanked by kneeling amorini-*yakshas*, all under Indian arches, separated by simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 39, Pl. 22, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 366, Fig. 187. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, p. 19, Fig. XIV. Group III

- 49 **CHANDAKA RECEIVES TURBAN AND JEWELS. FAREWELL OF KANTHAKA.** *Lahore*, No. 2340. From Sikri. H. 6⅞", w. 11¼". Vajrapāni is here at the left, next to Siddhārta, who is handing his turban and his jewels to Chandaka, the latter still holding the royal umbrella. Kanthaka is expressing in his own way the grief he feels, "licking with his tongue the feet of his master, bathing them in burning tears." In the panel to the right, a *yakshi* stands under a tree, her right hand raised to touch a leaf; cf. Nos. 359-60.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 362, Fig. 185. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 20-21, Fig. XV. Group II

- 50 **CULT OF THE TURBAN.** *Peshawar*, No. 2064. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 15⅞". According to another tradition, Siddhārta cut off both his turban and his long hair with one stroke of his sword and cast them both up in the air. Here they were seized by the gods of the Trayastrimsa heaven, who bore them off to their celestial abode. The turban is here shown enthroned and worshipped by the gods; Indra is probably the one to the right. It is rather interesting that so far no Gandhāran sculpture is

known representing the actual cutting off of hair and turban, and what is still more important, the Gandhāra Buddha is never portrayed with the shaven head characteristic of and obligatory for his monks. Somehow, the Gandhāra sculptors could not bring themselves to follow the literary tradition and represent the Buddha with the same lack of hair as his monks. Cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 365; II, pp. 289–304; also Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 28–29. For a relief with similar subject, cf. Meunié, *Shotorak*, p. 51, No. 131, Pl. XXXVIII, No. 122. A capital recently found at Surkh Kotal, in Afghanistan, shows a similar turban on a draped base; see Schlumberger, *JA*, CCXLIII, 1955, p. 277, n. 2, and Pl. III, 2.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103, B. Group II

51 CHANDAKA AND KANTHAKA RETURN. *Labore*, No. 116. H. 14¼".

While the women look down from the balconies, Chandaka enters one of the city gates bringing back with him the horse, the turban, and the royal umbrella, but not Siddhārta.

Simpson, *JRIBA*, I, 1894, p. 108, Fig. 11. Burgess, *AMI*, p. 11, Pl. 128. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 9, Fig. 301, and I, pp. 367–68. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 18–19, Fig. XIII.

Group III

52 SIDDHĀRTA FASTING. *Labore*, No. 1099. From Sikri. H. 33", w. 21". For six years Siddhārta tried passionately to work out his own way of salvation. He proceeded to Gayā and there lived by begging alms from charitable people. In addition to intense mental concentration, he practiced such severe physical austerities that he came to look like a living skeleton, so realistically and poignantly portrayed in this seated statue. The drapery folds are characterized by thin ridges arranged in

parallel curves. Their conventional character contrasts strangely with the superb and forceful realism expressed in face and body. On the base, in relief, six monks worship at a fire altar, three on each side. For the fire altar, see No. 232.

Senart, *JA*, XV, 1890, pp. 140–41, 151–52, Pl. II. Burgess, *AMI*, p. 13, Pl. 145. Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, pp. 25–28, Pl. 3, 1. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 21–22, Fig. XVI. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 266–67, Fig. 439 on p. 269. Wellesz, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 6, Pl. 10. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, p. 85, Fig. 165. Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens*, Berlin, 1928, p. 285, Fig. 168. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2d ed., p. 59, Pl. 30. B. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, New York, 1955, pp. 347, 350; II, Pl. 65. Anil de Silva-Vigier, *Life of the Buddha*, London, 1955, Pl. 45.

Group III

53 SIDDHĀRTA FASTING. *Peshawar*, No. 799. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1908. H. 32½", w. 19⅜". The meditating and fasting Siddhārta here looks even more emaciated than in No. 52; the image gives the believers a most graphic idea of the physical privations and the mental concentration he practiced in order to find the solution to the problems inherent in life. On the base is portrayed an incident that happened shortly after the illumination: the gift of the two merchants Trapusha and Bhallika (see No. 67). The drapery folds are rendered more realistically than on No. 52, stringy folds here and there alternating with low ridges.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907–08, p. 140, Pl. XLIII, a. Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 14, 67–68, pl. facing p. 67. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 266–67, Fig. 440 on p. 273. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 29–30, 85–86, Pl. 3. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 34, 99, Pl. IV.

Group III

- 54 **FIRST MEETING WITH THE BRAHMANS.** *Peshawar*, No. 2066. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 15½", w. 19½". In order to find a solution to the problems with which he struggled Siddhārta sought the instruction of first one, then another Brahman, but their teachings did not satisfy him, so he left them to work out his own answers. In this relief Siddhārta is addressing an ascetic Brahman who is sitting inside his leaf hut. To the right is Vajrapāni rather scantily clad, his right shoulder bare. Along the base is a frieze of lotus flowers, as on No. 66. Similar Siddhārta and Vajrapāni figures are found on No. 59 and on a relief in Berlin (see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 49, Fig. 326); we shall meet a Siddhārta with similar *ushnisha* in No. 66. For the drapery folds, see No. 16; for the circle near the edge of the halo, No. 32; and for the style, Introduction, p. 26.

Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 141, Fig. 93. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 375, Fig. 189. E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome*, Princeton, 1950, p. 65, Fig. 98. Bussagli, *Archeologia Classica*, V, 1953, p. 75, Pl. XXXVI, 3. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103, K. Group I

- 55 **SIDDHĀRTA FASTING.** *Lahore*, No. 1871. H. 10½", w. 10". On this relief the fasting Siddhārta is not alone, but is surrounded by worshipping deities. Vajrapāni is seated at the left; the god standing to the right is probably Indra. For reliefs with similar subject, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 379, Fig. 192, c; p. 381, Fig. 193; and p. 397, Fig. 200, a. Group III

- 56 **HYMN OF THE NĀGA KĀLIKA AND WIFE.** *Lahore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13". When Siddhārta realized that through no amount of austerities could he attain the solution to his goal, he lost faith

in the traditional methods and, to the disgust of the five disciples who had attached themselves to him, partook of food again and entered on a more rational course of contemplation. Finally, on his way to a certain pipal tree, under which the Enlightenment was to take place, he passed the abode of Kālīka, king of the Nāgas, mythical serpent gods, who symbolize water. When Kālīka and his wife saw the effulgence of his body, they prophesied in a hymn his approaching Enlightenment. Vajrapāni looks on from the left while on the opposite side Kālīka and his wife in worshipping attitude stand in a water tank which is their home. Behind their heads is the typical mark of a Nāga, a hood in the shape of a serpent's head. Above, two gods show their admiration for Siddhārta, one to the left scattering flowers over him, the other clasping his hands in adoration. They may be identified, the first as Indra, the other as Brahma. See also Introduction, pp. 35-36.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 253-76, Fig. IX. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 384, Fig. 194. Group III

- 57 **A-B. THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (A). HYMN OF THE NĀGA KĀLIKA AND WIFE (B).** *Peshawar*, No. 1972. H. 20¾", w. 16¼". This relief with several horizontally placed panels (see Nos. 159-69) shows at the top the Buddha seated in the reassuring attitude flanked by two worshippers clad in the Iranian belted caftan and long trousers. The throne of the Buddha has a geometric decoration, similar to that of No. 55. On each of the lateral pilasters a Buddha in the pose of meditation is seated on a lotus pedestal, hands covered. In the bottom panel is a version of the Kālīka hymn scene. The four principal characters reappear, and the spout of the tank is

here, too, in the shape of a lion's head. Two seated Buddhas here also decorate the flanking Indo-Corinthian pilasters. However, only the Buddha to the right is in the attitude of meditation, his counterpart on the left being in the reassuring pose. Above the capitals one notes again the interrupted architrave (see No. 33) and above the frieze a row of modillions, the regular bracket feature of a fully developed Corinthian cornice (see Introduction, p. 37).

Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 34-35, 106.

Group III

- 58 WIFE OF THE NĀGA KĀLIKA, WORSHIPPERS. *Peshawar*, No. 2054. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 20", w. 12 1/8". Standing in the tank is the wife of the Nāga Kālīka, with a most impressive array of serpents above her head. The figures to the right are probably worshipping gods; on the part now missing both Kālīka himself and Vajrapāni were no doubt represented.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103, L. Group III

- 59 GRASSCUTTER OFFERS GRASS FOR THE SEAT OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. *Peshawar*, No. 2069. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 15 3/8", w. 17". After the Kālīka incident Siddhārta continued his march and met a grasscutter by the name of Svastika standing under a pipal tree. Svastika here presents him with a bundle of soft, green grass, which Siddhārta will spread at the foot of the tree. Both the Buddha and Vajrapāni look very much like their counterparts in No. 54 and may even have been made by the same sculptor. The story of the grasscutter is commented upon by Scherman, in the *F. W. Thomas Anniversary Volume*, Bombay, 1939, pp. 239-46. For the drapery folds,

see No. 16; for the incised circle near the edge of the halo, No. 32.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103, L. Group I

- 60 GRASSCUTTER OFFERS GRASS FOR THE SEAT OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. *Labore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13". We find here the same three principal characters and, in addition, four worshipping deities. The god standing on the ground below to the left is probably Indra, above whom can be seen two worshipping gods in similar costume. Brahma appears in the upper right-hand corner, in the place of honor. Above the middle of the forehead Siddhārta's hair has the almond-shaped form seen on No. 7. The right hand of the mustached Siddhārta is abnormally large and shows in the middle of the palm an incised circle, perhaps meant for the Wheel of the Law; cf. No. 75, and see Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, 1935, p. 39, and Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris, 1930, p. 106, Pl. XXVI, a (Bodhisattva from Katrā). All the Buddhas from the Sikri Stūpa who show their right palms have this distinguishing mark. Near the edge of the halo is an engraved circle, as on No. 32.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 240-47, Fig. VIII. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 391, Fig. 197. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 108, Pl. III, 4. Scherman, *op. cit.*, p. 239, Fig. 2. Group III

- 61 THE TEMPTATION BY MĀRA AND HIS DAUGHTERS. *Peshawar*, No. 353. From Bau Darra Kharki, 1904. H. 7 1/2", w. 14 1/2". The evil Māra realized that his present power in the world would be seriously impaired if Siddhārta should obtain the Supreme Knowledge and subsequently lead other people to salvation. He therefore used all possible means to

persuade Siddhārta to give up the quest. He first tempted him with promises of power and pleasure, commanding his own daughters to disport themselves before him. The Buddha, his right hand raised in the reassuring attitude, is seated under an arboreal canopy with a large flower at each corner. At the right stand Māra and one daughter, at the left the two others—the one at the extreme left in a diaphanous upper garment. On the flanking Indo-Corinthian pilasters are, to the right, a *yaksha*, and to the left a *yakshī*. Above the capitals appears the interrupted architrave; cf. No. 33. Some of the drapery folds are rendered by paired, parallel lines.

Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1921–22, p. 142, Pl. XXIV, b. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 31–32, 76. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 36–37, 106.

Group III

- 62 THE TEMPTATION BY MĀRA AND HIS DAUGHTERS. *Peshawar*, No. 787. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ". Detail. Māra is here standing between his two daughters at the left of the Bodhi tree. On the base of the seat a female bust in relief represents the earth goddess (see No. 346), and rising from the seat itself the goddess of the tree appears. All turn toward Siddhārta, who stands at the right of the tree. The folds of the drapery are rendered throughout by paired, parallel lines. For the tree goddess, see a relief in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 45–46, No. 46, Pl. VIII, b, and a relief in Lahore: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 397, Fig. 200, b. For another panel of this same sculpture, see No. 134.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1907–08, Pl. XLIV, b. Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 15–16, 66, pl. facing p. 30 (the whole relief). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 30–31, 85. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 35, 98–99. Group IV

- 63 THE ATTACK BY MĀRA AND HIS HOST. *Peshawar*, No. 128. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. $10\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $15\frac{3}{8}$ ". When Māra saw that neither offer of power nor feminine charms could change the mind of Siddhārta, he resorted to force in order to dislodge him from his seat. When Māra started his attack Siddhārta merely touched his right hand to the ground, calling the earth goddess to bear witness to his right to remain in his seat by virtue of his deeds in previous existences, and Māra and his host had to retire. The princely warriors in scale armor on each side of Siddhārta probably both represent Māra; cf. a similar relief in Lahore: Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 25–26, Fig. XIX. At the right he is about to draw his sword while one of Siddhārta's divine helpers looks disapprovingly at him; at the left, he is held back by the counterpart of this celestial helper of Siddhārta, with the result that he is powerless—his sword is gone. Beyond the two Māras at each end is a warrior in similar costume, armed with spear and sword. On Māra's trousers the paired, parallel lines indicate the drapery folds. For the story, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 400–08, and a relief in the Freer Art Gallery, Washington: Viennot, *Le Culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1954, p. 224, Pl. XV, Fig. B.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 16, 39. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 31–32, 65. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 35–36, 84.

Group III (IV)

- 64 HOST OF MĀRA. *Lahore*, No. 538. H. $22\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $10\frac{1}{8}$ ". In his attempt to dislodge Siddhārta Māra not only used warriors that looked like human beings but also called on an army of demons. The warriors in the bottom row belong in the first category; those appearing above them, in the second. Most of the warriors

in this latter group have animal heads, showing terrifying teeth, and one has two human faces on one head. Certainly, a man who could single-handed withstand an attack from opponents such as these must be more than human. The human warriors are armed with spears and swords, favorite weapons of the Kushāns; see Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, p. 248. Typically Iranian are both the straight hilt of the sword and the way it is attached to the body by its special sword-belt. Characteristic of Iranian or Iranizing tribes is also the manner in which the sword-belt passes through a loop halfway down the scabbard; see Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, II, Paris, 1938, pp. 69-70. Two of the warriors in the first row wear scale armor; cf. Nos. 47 and 63. The warrior to the right wears a helmet, recalling the so-called morion from Spain, supposedly brought from the East; see Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, p. 14. Rippling folds appear on the undergarment of the warrior to the left. A frieze of eglantines decorates the base. For similar representations of demons, see Burgess, *AMI*, p. 11, Pl. 133, 1-2. Viennot, *op. cit.*, p. 224, Pl. XV, B.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 12, Pl. 134, 1. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 96, Fig. 48. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 405, Fig. 202. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 26-27, Fig. XX. Wellesz, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 6, Pl. 11. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, p. 52, Fig. 46 (the warriors in the bottom row only). E.W.F., *BMFAB*, V, 1927, p. 59, fig. Ginters, *Das Schwert der Skythen und Sarmaten in Südrussland*, Berlin, 1928, p. 82, Pl. XXXIII, a. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, p. 62, Pl. 37.

Group III

- 65 HOST OF MĀRA. *Labore*, No. 461. H. 13", w. 5". This relief may portray two of Māra's warriors, one looking left,

the other right, though both are walking to the left. On the other hand, the puzzling object hanging from the shoulder of the latter does not seem to be of military character, and the object in his right hand looks rather like a thunderbolt, which—if this is correct—would mark him as a Vajrapāni. A frieze of eglantines on the base recalls that of No. 64.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 12, Pl. 135, 1. Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 35, Pl. 10, 6. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 15, Fig. 306. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, Pl. 35, A (calls the figures "Boys armed as soldiers").

Group III

- 66 ATTACK BY MĀRA AND HIS HOST. *Peshawar*, No. 2070. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 15 1/4", w. 20". Here, too, Siddhārta calls the earth goddess to witness, and Māra's attack comes to nought. It seems natural to identify the princely warrior at the left who is about to draw his sword as Māra. Behind him, at the extreme left, stands a man, simply dressed, his head bare and his hair long. He is probably one of Māra's soldiers. Another aggressive person in princely costume who stands at the extreme right seems older than Māra and differs in dress. He is physically restrained by a man in tunic and trousers wearing a curious pointed hat. Probably the older man is one of Māra's helpers, and the one holding him back is Māra's son Shreshti, who on all occasions tried to dissuade his father from attacking Siddhārta. Two soldiers lie helpless on the ground in front of the Bodhi seat. In the upper background the gods seem to raise threatening hands, but after comparing No. 72 it seems more reasonable to assume that they are flower-throwing *devas* showing their admiration for Siddhārta. In type and style, the Siddhārta image is reminiscent of No. 54,

which has a similar frieze of lotus flowers along the base. For the pointed hat, cf. No. 574. The drapery folds recall those of No. 16. Near the edge of the halo is an incised circle as on No. 60.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103 J. Group II

- 67 TWO MERCHANTS OFFER FOOD TO THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 797 (detail). From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 7", w. 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". During the night following the attack by Māra, Siddhārta obtained the Supreme Knowledge, a psychological experience of which one can naturally expect no sculptural representation. In the morning the Buddha arose, went to a neighboring grove, and there fell into an ecstatic trance that lasted for seven weeks. At the end of this period a caravan, headed by the merchants Trapusha and Bhallika, happened to pass close by the grove. The bullocks pulling the carts at the head of the caravan suddenly refused to advance and the wheels stuck mysteriously in the ground. The genius of the grove then appeared and told the merchants to bring food to the Buddha. At the left of the panel, it is probably the genius who appears behind the two merchants. The Heracleian old man at the right of the Buddha is Vajrapāni. Cf. also a relief from Taxila: Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 220, No. 114, and one from Shotorak: Meunié, *Shotorak*, pp. 45-46, No. 123, Pl. XVII, 56. The present relief decorates the base of the statue No. 53.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 19. Adam, *Budhastatuen*, Stuttgart, 1925, pp. 33, 90, and Pl. 6. See also the publications cited under No. 53. Group III

- 68 OFFERING OF THE FOUR BOWLS. *Labore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". After his seven-week trance the Buddha was offered his first food

in the dramatic way shown on No. 67. But the Buddha had no bowl of his own in which to put the food offered by the two merchants, so the four *lokapālas*, the Guardians of the Heavenly Quarters, each brought a golden bowl. That material was unacceptable to the Buddha, so they were transformed first into various other precious metals and finally into stone. Only these last could the Buddha accept, at the same time miraculously transforming the four bowls into one so that no individual *lokapāla* would be chagrined at having his bowl rejected. In order to be sure that these four men in princely costumes bringing bowls to the Buddha would be identified with the *lokapālas*, the sculptor inserted two elements that recalled what happened seven weeks earlier: one the Bodhi tree, whose foliage forms an arch over the head of the Buddha, the other the flowers on the front of the Bodhi seat. These latter mark the seat as the famous *vajrāsana*, or "diamond seat," on which the Buddha achieved the Supreme Enlightenment. For the flowers that the gods rained down over him at the Enlightenment, see Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, p. 219, n. 1. For many centuries there was at Peshawar a stūpa containing the Buddha's alms bowl. It was still there in the days of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien (about A.D. 400), but by the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit (about A.D. 620) it had passed into Persia; see Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 257. The Buddha is in the reassuring pose and has on the palm of his right hand a circle like the one we saw on No. 60. The hair below the *ushnisha* shows very clearly the same arrangement as in Nos. 7 and 60. A similar relief is now in Baltimore: John Pope, *News. Baltimore Museum of Art*, February, 1955, p. 7 below.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 300-18, Fig. XIII. Huber, *BEFEO*, IV, 1904, pp. 461-

62. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 417, Fig. 210. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 27-28, Fig. XXI. Bussagli, *Archeologia Classica*, V, 1953, p. 75, Pl. XXXVI, 2. Group III

69 OFFERING OF THE FOUR BOWLS. *Lahore*, No. 2025. From Sikri. H. $8\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 11". Here, too, we see the four *lokapālas* bringing their bowls to the Buddha, who has not yet accepted. The branches above his head represent the grove in which the scene took place seven weeks after the Enlightenment. Among the gods in the background, Vajrapāni can be identified as the bearded figure in the upper left corner. Group III

70 THE GODS ENTREAT THE BUDDHA TO PREACH. *Lahore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 19". The gods of the different orders visited the Buddha after the Enlightenment and exhorted him to preach the Law, his doctrine for the benefit of humanity. Brahma stands below to the right, in the place of honor, Indra to the left, and two pairs of lesser divinities stand solidly on ledges in the upper background. The Buddha himself raises his right hand in the gesture of reassurance, a sign that he will accede to their request. The flowers on the front of the seat serve here, as in No. 68, to fix the time of this incident as close to the Enlightenment. For the forehead hair, and for the circle on the right hand of the Buddha, see No. 60.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 216-26, Fig. IV. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 421, Fig. 212. Group III

71 INDRA AND BRAHMA ENTREAT THE BUDDHA TO PREACH. *Lahore*, No. 588. H. 10", w. 15". This relief may be an abbreviated version of the gods' request to the Buddha, or it may just ex-

press the homage rendered to the Buddha by the two older gods. It is Indra who has the place of honor, at the right, Brahma being at the left. Group II

72 THE GODS ENTREAT THE BUDDHA TO PREACH. *Peshawar*, No. 2050. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. $15\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $19\frac{3}{8}$ ". In this version Indra and Brahma are kneeling, with Indra again at the right. Behind them are lesser gods, similarly attired, and at the top, on both sides of the carefully rendered pipal leaves, four still smaller *dēvas*, two on each side, scatter flowers over the Buddha from their raised right hands. Along the base is the same kind of lotus flower border as in Nos. 54 and 66. The drapery of Indra and of the acolyte behind him shows zigzag folds, but no rippling. For the other folds, cf. No. 16.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103 F. Group II

73 THE GODS ENTREAT THE BUDDHA TO PREACH. *Lahore*, No. 1067. From Nathu Monastery. H. 9", w. $9\frac{3}{4}$ ". The Buddha here is sitting in the attitude of meditation, his hands covered by the robe. From all sides the gods press about him, led by Indra to the right, Brahma to the left. Group II

74 PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST SERMON. *Peshawar*, Nos. 1963, 1969, 1895. H. $8\frac{1}{8}$ " x $8\frac{1}{4}$ ", $7\frac{7}{8}$ " x $7\frac{3}{8}$ ", $8\frac{3}{4}$ " x $10\frac{3}{8}$ ". After the Buddha had made up his mind to preach his doctrine, he decided that the first to hear him should be the five disciples who left him when he abandoned his austerities. They were living in the Deer Park at Sarnath, near the city of Benares, and there the Buddha made his way to them. These three fragments come from three different reliefs, but all portray the same scene: the five monks making the

practical preparations for the sermon. In the fragment at the right (No. 1963) one sees all five disciples, three in the foreground, two in the background. Of the former group one holds a fan—it was in May, the hottest month of the year—the next carries a water pitcher to wash the feet of the Buddha, and the third, nearest to the Buddha, has a stool in his hands. Overhead a flying *dēva* can be seen just left of the halo, and left of him a flower-throwing god (Shakur: *Vajrapāni*). In the middle fragment (No. 1969), the monks with the stool and the water pitcher can be easily recognized, and on the fragment to the left (No. 1895), which is on a larger scale than the others, the same three objects appear, the stool being much larger than in the other two fragments. The drapery of the monk on the left seems to be indicated by paired, parallel lines.

Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 38–39.

Groups III (Nos. 1963, 1969)
and IV (No. 1895)

- 75 THE FIRST SERMON, TURNING OF THE WHEEL OF THE LAW. *Taxila*, No. 361. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa, Building L. H. 19". The Buddha is here seen in the Deer Park at Sarnath, delivering his First Sermon or, as Buddhists say, "turning the wheel of the Law." This expression is here represented literally: the Buddha is seen turning an actual, thirteen-spoke wheel, with small horses' heads on the inside of the rim, between the spokes, and small umbrellas, symbols of the royalty of the Buddha, on the outside. The wheel itself rests upon the three points of a *triratna*, the symbol of the three jewels of Buddhism: the Buddha, the Law, and the Community of Monks. The *triratna* is supported by a small wheel which in turn rests on a low Indo-Corinthian column. This second wheel seems rather superflu-

ous, and, as if to accentuate its lack of utility, the sculptor has replaced the spokes with petals; see also Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 428–29. Two of the five monks can be seen seated at the left on low, circular, grass-covered seats; the three others were probably portrayed to the right, on the part now missing. In the upper left-hand corner is a flying *dēva* with a flower offering in his left hand; below him a bearded Vajrapāni can be seen with fly whisk in his right hand, the thunderbolt in his left. Next to the Buddha to the right stands Indra, now defaced, and at the left Brahma, in the guise of a Brahman novice. At the foot of the seat two deer are reclining, back to back, their heads turned toward each other. They serve to remind the spectator of the locale of the First Sermon, the Sarnath Deer Park. A leaf border decorates the base; cf. No. 485.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912–13, p. 16, No. 5, Pl. VIII, e. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924–25, pp. 22, 28–29, and Fig. 14 (2d cent. A.D.). Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 152 (right). Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 15–16. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 102–03, Pl. IV, 5. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 717, No. 118. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 220, No. 118. Deydier, *Oriental Art*, II, 1949–50, p. 115, Fig. 5.
Group III

- 76 THE FIRST SERMON. *Lahore*, No. 134. H. 6½", w. 10¼". Flanked by two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, the Buddha is seated in the reassuring pose together with his disciples. Although he does not touch the wheel, the scene no doubt portrays the First Sermon in the Deer Park at Sarnath, as is attested by the wheel and the *triratna*—both rather summarily carved—and also the reclining deer, here confronted, with heads turned outwards. Of the disciples, two are at the left, three to the right, but

symmetry is obtained by adding two laymen at the left and one at the right.

Burgess, *JlAI*, 1900, p. 35, Pl. 10, 5.

Group III

- 77 THE FIRST SERMON, TURNING OF THE WHEEL OF THE LAW. *Peshawar*, No. 2081. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 15 1/2", w. 13 3/4". Vajrapāni can be seen just above the wheel, clad as in Nos. 54 and 59. The Buddha sets the wheel in motion with his right hand, as in No. 75. Again a smaller wheel appears under the *triratna*, the spokes stylized into petals of lotus flowers. Behind the halo, branches of the pipal tree radiate to form an arboreal background. The one deer preserved faces directly toward the wheel-and-*triratna* symbol. The drapery of the Buddha recalls that of No. 16. For the incised circle near the edge of the halo, see No. 32.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103, E. Group II

- 78 SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION OF THE FIRST SERMON. *Peshawar*, No. 1945. H. 4 7/8", w. 12". At the far right of this fragment is an Indo-Corinthian pilaster; at the left and in the center, two simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns. In the spaces between are arches with pendants. Inside the one on the right a kneeling worshipper can be seen looking to the left; within the second are the wheel and the *triratna*, the spokes of the former stylized into the petals of a lotus flower. Along the upper border is a leaf-and-dart molding.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 54 ("cult of the relics").

Group III

- 79 SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION OF THE FIRST SERMON. *Lahore*, No. 911. From Jamal Garhi. H. 12 3/8", w. 17 1/2". On this relief the five disciples are

portrayed as on No. 76, with the difference that here two are portrayed on the right, three on the left. All seem to be in the attitude of meditation, with hands covered. Instead of the Buddha, they are gathered around the *triratna*, which here is supporting three wheels, one on each tip. The *triratna* itself is supported by a fourth wheel stylized into a rosette as on No. 75. Behind the two monks on the right two standing worshippers can be seen. A relief in Calcutta has four similarly arranged wheels; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 429, Fig. 217.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 431, Fig. 218.

Group III

- 80 MIRACLE OF THE FIRE BEFORE THE KĀSYAPAS AT URUVILVA. *Lahore*, No. 2341. From Sikri. H. 5 3/8", w. 12". Gayā was the place where the Buddha practiced austerities for seven years. While there, he had certainly heard about or seen the famous Hindu ascetic Kāsyapa, who lived in near-by Uruvilva with his two brothers and a large number of disciples. Shortly after his first sermon the Buddha decided to go to Uruvilva in order to convert the influential Kāsyapas and their flock. We are told that there he performed five hundred miracles, one of which was the miracle of the fire which first could not be lit, then could not be put out. On this relief the fire occupies the central place in both panels, between the two antagonists, the Buddha and Kāsyapa. Beside the Buddha stands Vajrapāni, and between them can be seen the shaven head of a monk. In the panel on the left Kāsyapa sits in his straw hut, looking at the fire that the Buddha has started. In the other panel Kāsyapa stands at the right leaning on his stick, here watching the fire die out at the command of the Buddha. On the Corinthian pilaster flanking the relief at the right

is a curious object, no doubt a stylized garland; see a Dipankara panel at the British Museum: Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, pp. 35-36, Pl. 11, 1; wall paintings at Dura: see *Excavations at Dura-Europas*, VI, New Haven, 1936, Pl. XLII, 1-2; also Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europas*, Paris, 1926, p. 45, n. 3; and the Sasanian mosaics from Bishāpur, see Ghirshman, *Les Mosaïques sassanides*, Paris, 1956, pp. 109-10, Pls. VI, 1, and VII, 1.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 445-46, Fig. 223.
Group III

- 81 THE BUDDHA AND THE BLACK SERPENT IN THE FIRE TEMPLE AT URUVILVA. *Labore*, No. 2305. From Sikri. H. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $12\frac{3}{4}$ ". Much more popular in Gandhāra, however, was the story of the miracle that finally broke the resistance of the brothers and their disciples. The Buddha one evening told Kāsyapa that he would like to spend the night in the fire temple situated on the property of the ascetic. Kāsyapa tried to dissuade him on account of the venomous serpent that lived there, but the Buddha persisted, entered the temple, and sat down. The effulgence from his body was so overpowering that the serpent could do nothing but meekly crawl into the Buddha's alms bowl. This radiant light within was so bright that from the outside the temple seemed to be burning. The solicitous disciples of Kāsyapa rushed to it carrying water to put out the fire and rescue the Buddha. On this relief two disciples can be seen standing just outside the building, one with a waterpot on his shoulder, while the Buddha sits in the reassuring pose inside. The serpent, clearly visible to the right, is poised as if to strike. On the flanking Indo-Corinthian pilasters a *yaksha*, on the left, and a *yakshi*, on the right, are portrayed with hands clasped in adoration.

Above the capitals is the interrupted architrave.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 449, Fig. 224.

Group III

- 82 THE BUDDHA VISITED BY BRAHMAN ASCETICS. *Labore*, No. 2358. H. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $18\frac{3}{4}$ ". While the Buddha was meditating in a rock temple in Magadha he received a visit from sixteen disciples of a famous Brahman ascetic who had come to put before him a number of problems they were unable to solve. The Buddha is seated in the reassuring pose in his rocky retreat, and on each side the sculptor has represented four of the sixteen ascetics. At the left an elderly Brahman, followed by a young disciple, seems to question the Buddha, and at the right two elderly Brahmans stand in the same questioning pose. At either end an ascetic sits in the doorway of his hut, talking to a young disciple, standing in front of him. Cf. Nos. 106-08, where other pieces with the same theme are described. For the story, see Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 52, and Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 1949, p. 258.

Group III

- 83 ASCETICS TRY TO EXTINGUISH THE SUPPOSED CONFLAGRATION OF THE FIRE TEMPLE. *Labore*, No. 464. H. $23\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $15\frac{3}{4}$ ". In the top part we have a vivid picture both of flames bursting out of the fire temple and of the frantic efforts of the Kāsyapa brothers and their disciples to put out the conflagration, which they feared would be fatal to the Buddha. The fragmentary scene below this has not been identified. One sees from right to left Vajrapāni, a man in princely costume, and a monk. For other fire temples, cf. Nos. 433 and 469, and a relief recently acquired by the Peshawar Museum, representing the burning of the fire temple at Uruvilva.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 11, Pl. 131, 1. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 126, Fig. 78 (top only). Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 30-31, Fig. XXIII (top only). Group II

Brahman novices. The drapery folds of the Buddha are characterized by thin ridges. Group II

- 84 THE BUDDHA IN THE FIRE TEMPLE AT URUVILVA. *Peshawar*, No. 769. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 10", w. 12 1/4". Of the original statue, only a left foot and parts of three smaller feet remain. It was probably a portrayal of the Buddha presenting the snake to Kāsyapa and one of his disciples, as in Nos. 86-89. On the base the fire temple is represented twice: at the left a disciple points to it, and at the right the Buddha can be seen meditating within it. The snake climbs the steps, about to crawl into the alms bowl, while disciples pour water to put out the supposed fire. The door is built in the shape of an Indian arch, the opening presenting an outline reminiscent of the false niches of the Buddhist stūpas; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 129-32, and Nos. 168-69. The steps ascend from left to right across the front.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 21-22, 65-66. Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, pp. 139-140, Pl. XLV, Fig. d. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 34-35, 84. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 99-100.

Group III

- 85 THE BUDDHA PRESENTS THE SERPENT TO KĀSYAPA. *Karachi*, in Box 21. From Rawalpindi. H. 12", w. 15 3/8". This scene seems to take place outside the fire temple, and shows the Buddha presenting Kāsyapa with the black serpent, now lying innocuously in his alms bowl. On the left of the Buddha stands a Brahman novice, followed by Kāsyapa and one of his brothers. At the left a youthful Vajrapāni can be seen, undoubtedly followed by the third Kāsyapa and more

- 86 THE BUDDHA PRESENTS THE SERPENT TO KĀSYAPA. *Peshawar*, No. 1549. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D, 1907. H. 9 1/2", w. 12 1/2". In several portrayals of this scene Kāsyapa stands outside his hut, while a child crouches in terror on the ground, turning his face away from the Buddha, in order not to look at the ill-reputed snake coiled up in the alms bowl. Both Kāsyapa and the child raise their right arms, evidently a gesture of fear. None of the texts mentions a child in connection with this incident (see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 453), but the relief which follows, No. 87, makes the interpretation here given practically certain. To the left a Bodhisattva, probably Siddhārta, is shown in the pose of meditation. The drapery folds of the Buddha are rendered quite schematically by the paired, incised, and parallel lines. A similar relief was found at Takht-i-Bahai; see Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, Pl. XLII, a.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 8, first row right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 34-35, 98. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 40-41, 84-85. Group IV

- 87 THE BUDDHA PRESENTS THE SERPENT TO THE KĀSYAPAS. *Peshawar*, No. 1373. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 21", w. 8 3/8". This and the next two sculptures, all in very high relief, present a version of the story similar to that of No. 86, with the difference that the Buddha is of colossal size, towering above the Kāsyapas. He holds the bowl with the serpent in his left hand, while a child sits on the ground at his feet, supporting his weight on his left arm, his right arm bent across his chest. Behind the child, in front

of the hut, is a disciple and at the extreme right Kāsyapa. On the base, between Indo-Corinthian pilasters, the Buddha can be seen in the center, seated meditating inside the fire temple, the serpent lying on the ground in front of the alms bowl. It is this detail that proves the interpretation of No. 86 and of the present scene to be correct. At the right of the fire temple two women are standing, dressed like their counterparts in No. 310; at the left are two men; all four have their hands clasped in adoration. The drapery folds are rendered by ridges varying in thickness. The right knee of the Buddha can be seen clearly under the clinging drapery of the undergarment. For the forehead locks of the Buddha, here and on Nos. 88-89, see No. 60. Cf. a similar relief from Kot: Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1922-23, pp. 98-99, Pl. X, c, and one from Takht-i-Bahai: Spooner, *ASI*, 1908-09, p. 58, Fig. 2, text p. 59, n. 1.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 57-59, Pl. XX, a. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 34-35, 94. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 40-41, 71.

Group III

- 88 THE BUDDHA PRESENTS THE SERPENT TO THE KĀSYAPAS. *Peshawar*, No. 1378. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 20½", w. 11¼". The child is here again between the Buddha and Kāsyapa. His right hand is raised as in No. 86, but he does venture to look at the bowl with the serpent. The right arm of the Buddha is bent upward, the hand in front of the shoulder, palm inward. Along the base is an undulating vine of half-acanthi, reminiscent of Sasanian stucco work; see above, No. 34.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 57-59, Pl. XX, c. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 343, Fig. 461. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 34-35, 94. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 40-41.

Group III

- 89 THE BUDDHA PRESENTS THE SERPENT TO THE KĀSYAPAS. *Peshawar*, No. 1376. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 26⅜", w. 11". Of the child, only one sprawling leg can now be seen on the ground at the feet of the Buddha. The Buddha is standing, with most of his weight resting on his left leg, the right knee slightly flexed as clearly shown by the kneecap visible under the robe. The photograph published by Spooner still shows the whole lower part of the child's body, and the decoration of the base: in the center the Buddha's alms bowl flanked by a seated Bodhisattva and a kneeling worshipper with hands clasped in adoration.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 57-59, Pl. XX, b. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 34-35, 94. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 40-41, 71.

Group III

- 90 THE BUDDHA ENTERS RĀJAGRIHA. *Lahore*, No. 128. H. 6", w. 10¼". After having proven his miraculous powers at Uruvilva, the Buddha turns to the near-by capital of the Magadha province, Rājagriha. It was the king of this land, Bimbisāra, who, according to legend, had visited the Buddha shortly after the Renunciation, expressing his wish to become a disciple when Siddhārtha had obtained the Enlightenment. On the arrival of the Buddha in Rājagriha the king immediately called on the illustrious visitor and invited him to dinner the next day. The Buddha accepted. While on their way, a young Brahman novice appeared and led them toward the palace, singing verses in honor of the Buddha. It was, we are told, Indra himself, who also in this way expressed his admiration for the Buddha. We see Indra standing close to the city gate, singing for the Buddha to the accompaniment of his drum. The Buddha is followed by two monks, and in the upper back-

ground Vajrapāni and a man in princely costume can be seen; cf. No. 91. For the story, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 455-59. Edward J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, London, 1949, p. 92.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 459, Fig. 230.

Group III

- 91 THE BUDDHA ENTERS RĀJAGRIHA. *Labore*, No. 1182 (detail). H. 6", w. 12½". On this relief the gate of the city can be distinguished clearly, also the crenellated walls from which onlookers watch the procession of the king's dinner guests: the Buddha, Vajrapāni, a monk, and two men in princely costumes. On the pilaster at the right a *yaksha* is seated in front view on a lotus pedestal, hands clasped in adoration, knees spread apart. Another panel of this sculpture, to which the modillions below belong, is described under No. 177.

Cole, *Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*, Pl. 4, below. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 458, Fig. 229.

Group III

- 92 VICTORY OVER THE BLACK SERPENT AT RĀJAGRIHA. *Labore*, No. 30. From Ranigat. H. 13½", w. 19¾". At Rājagriha a rich but avaricious person buried his treasure in a garden. After his death he was reborn as a snake that lived in the same garden and looked so vicious that the populace was terror-stricken. At the request of King Bimbisāra the Buddha went to the garden and tamed the serpent, placing it in his alms bowl. The Buddha, of colossal size, occupies the center; to his left stands Vajrapāni, armed with both thunderbolt and sword. Facing the Buddha is a man in princely costume, his hands clasped in adoration, undoubtedly King Bimbisāra; the background is crowded with other

men in princely attire. The serpent seems on the point of sliding down among some lotus flowers growing beside a small stream—two details certainly emblematic of the garden in which the scene takes place. On the princely persons the folds of the drapery are partly rippling, partly rendered by paired, parallel lines.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 11, Pl. 132. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 127, Fig. 79. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 453, Fig. 227. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, p. 34, Fig. XXVI.

Group III (IV)

- 93 YASODHARĀ, RĀHULA, AND THE BUDDHA. *Labore*, No. 231. H. 9", w. 12". While still at Rājagriha, the Buddha was invited by his father to make the journey to Kapilavastu to visit his family. He accepted, and during his stay Yasodharā sent their son Rāhula to the Buddha to ask for his paternal inheritance. The Buddha decided to give him what he considered worth infinitely more—the wisdom he had learned under the Bodhi tree—and ordered him admitted to the monks' order. The Buddha is seated as guest at a meal, his bowl in his left hand, the other in the reassuring gesture. In the center background are two men in princely costume, and beside the Buddha's seat stands the small Rāhula, his hands clasped in adoration. Farther to the left Rāhula is seen again, facing his mother, a bowl in his hand, presumably giving her the news of his ordination into the order. The drapery folds of Yasodharā are rendered by paired, parallel lines. For the story, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 460-64. Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 50-52. Edward J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 101-02. For another version, now in the Brundage Collection, see John Pope, *Sculpture of Greater India*, New York, 1942, pp. 29-30, No. 4, ill. on p. 44.

Group IV

94 **NANDA TRIES TO ESCAPE FROM THE BUDDHA.** *Peshawar*, Nos. 153 and 152. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 23", w. 10½". While the Buddha was visiting at Kapilavastu, there were ceremonies celebrating the royal consecration as well as the marriage of Nanda, the Buddha's stepbrother. The Buddha suddenly entered Nanda's house, placed his alms bowl in Nanda's hands, left the house, and did not stop until he reached the monastery. Nanda followed out of reverence and for some mysterious reason could not bring himself to say no when the Buddha suggested that he become a member of the order. But the thought of his beautiful wife did haunt him, and once when the Buddha was away he managed to sneak out of the monastery. The Buddha, however, flew rapidly through the air and alighted some little distance from him. Nanda hid behind a tree, but it was of no avail. The tree was suddenly raised high in the air, disclosing the discomfited fugitive. Here, in the top part, the Buddha is flying so high over the ground that he is on a level with the sun god, who appears in the small medallion standing in his chariot, steering his horses across the sky. In the bottom section, the Buddha is probably portrayed twice, but his representation at the far left appears to be part of a different scene, of which the remainder is now missing. Next comes Vajrapāni, then the Buddha again, this time turned toward the kneeling Nanda, whose protecting tree has taken to the air. The building at the right of Nanda probably represents his house, the goal of his unsuccessful escapade. Paired, parallel lines render the drapery folds of both Vajrapāni and Nanda. On a relief in the British Museum the reluctant departure of Nanda from his house has been excellently rendered; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 465, Fig. 234. For the sun

god and the characteristic representation of the horses, see Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, II, pp. 85-92; Monneret de Villard, *Le pittura musulmane del soffito della Capella Palatina in Palermo*, Rome, 1950, pp. 45f., and Bussagli, *Rivista dell' Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte*, II, 1953, p. 257, n. 62. For the domed house, see No. 254.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 22-23, 42. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 35-36, 67. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 41-42, 84-85.

Group III (IV)

95 **ANĀTHAPINDADA PRESENTS THE JĒTAVANA PARK AT SRĀVASTĪ TO THE BUDDHA.** *Peshawar*, No. II or JJ. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 8", w. 13⅞". We next hear of the Buddha in Srāvastī, a city situated due west of Kapilavastu. The leading merchant of the town, Anāthapindada, had invited the Buddha to come and take possession of the Jētavana Park, just outside the city, which he wished to present to him. Accompanied by a monk, the Buddha faces Anāthapindada, who holds a golden waterpot ready for the rite of donation. Following Anāthapindada are three other men, dressed similarly and so undoubtedly representing fellow merchants of the city. The drapery folds are reminiscent of those of No. 16; see also Introduction, p. 26.

Burgess, *JAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 77, Fig. 8 (top) on p. 76. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 140, Fig. 92 (top). Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 474, Fig. 239 (top). Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131 ("the first example known to us of the Buddha figure from Gandhara").

Group I

96 **THE BUDDHA AMONG HIS MONKS.** *Lahore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 14½". Whenever the Buddha and his monks are represented as "at

home," that is, in one of their monasteries, they are all portrayed as sitting on low rectangular blocks of stone. In this relief the mustached Buddha and six monks are shown meditating on just such seats, which were evidently placed out in the open, as indicated by the mango trees at each side. The hands of the Buddha are wrapped in his robe, the ends of which, coming from behind his hands, cover both feet. Three of the monks wear the robe in similar fashion: to the left the two monks nearest the Buddha, to the right the one farthest away from him. The other three have their robes drawn from the left knee and caught under the right knee. There is a bust of another monk who appears between one of the seated monks and the right shoulder of the Buddha. The right shoulder of the monk is uncovered, which may mean that he is about to address the Buddha. But we are otherwise left in ignorance as to the occasion and his identity. At the top two gods appear on each side, the hands of all four clasped in adoration. The mango trees may refer to the Jētavana Park (see No. 95); on the other hand, nothing in the present composition seems to allude to any specific grove. It was the custom of the Buddha to meditate every day out in the open with his monks, and our relief may simply be a sculptural rendering of this routine. It is possible that the monk with bare shoulder is to be identified with Ānanda, the Buddha's favorite disciple; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 482-83. For the forehead locks of the Buddha, see No. 60.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 233-40, Fig. VI. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 481, Fig. 242.

Group III

- 97 THE BUDDHA AMONG HIS MONKS. *Labore*, No. 827. From Jamal Garhi. H. 6", w. 11 3/8". In an arboreal

setting—that is, out in the open, but within the precincts of one of the monasteries—the Buddha is seated with six of his monks on the same kind of rectangular stone seat as we saw in No. 96. The monks are all in the meditating pose, their hands covered, and probably all with the ends of their robes draped as on the Buddha of No. 96. The Buddha himself raises his right hand in the reassuring attitude. On the drapery of the monk to the right of the Buddha paired, parallel lines indicate the folds.

Group III (IV)

- 98 THE BUDDHA AMONG HIS MONKS. *Labore*, No. 1724. H. 8 1/8". At the left of the reassuring Buddha stand three monks, two of them scattering flowers and the one nearest the Buddha with his hands clasped. At the right only one monk has been preserved; he is evidently holding a bowl. Perhaps we may identify him as Ānanda, who in the twentieth year of the Buddha's wandering was appointed his permanent attendant. He alone was allowed to carry his master's bowl and robe each day; see Edward J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 122.

Group III

- 99 THE BUDDHA, VAJRAPĀNI, AND WORSHIPPERS. *Labore*, No. 951. From Jamal Garhi. H. 12 3/8", w. 18 1/2". The Buddha is standing, his right hand in the reassuring position, looking to his right toward a woman who is throwing flowers before him. A bearded Vajrapāni, dressed in the same way as the one on No. 77, stands at the other side of the Buddha looking away from him to the right. Above these attendants appear four *devas*, two at each side of the Buddha's head; three of them have clasped hands, and the fourth, at the extreme left, scatters flowers, as does the lady beneath him.

Probably this lady was the donor of the relief, but we shall never know her name or the occasion for the sculpture. The curious curls above the forehead of Vajrapāni, recalling those of Alexander the Great (see Bieber, "The Portraits of Alexander the Great," *Proceedings American Philosophical Society*, 93, 1949, p. 419, Figs. 80-81), are found also on a relief in the British Museum representing the Buddha and the elephant (see Burgess, *JLAI*, VIII, 1900, Pl. 14, 2) and on a relief in Berlin (see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 49, Fig. 326).

Burgess, *JLAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 30, Pl. 14, 1 (the flower-throwing lady is here identified with Māra). Group II

- 100 INVITATION OF SRĪGUPTA. *Labore*, No. 309, detail = No. 162, B. H. 7 3/4". A wealthy houseowner of Rājagriha by the name of Srīgupta was fanatically attached to a certain heretical teacher and therefore conceived a violent hatred for the Buddha. He had long been plotting how to kill both him and his disciples and finally thought up the following diabolical scheme. He invited them to his house, but put burning charcoal in a ditch which the Buddha would have to cross and concealed the burning fire under a light covering. To make the outcome still more certain he poisoned the food intended for the guests. The Buddha, however, turned the fiery ditch into a tank of lotuses and also freed the food of poison. Srīgupta and his wife can be seen standing at the entrance of their house, welcoming the guests, the Buddha, Vajrapāni, and a monk, the latter carrying the obligatory alms bowl. Instead of being burned to death, the three are walking on lotuses! No wonder, then, that Srīgupta, when his attempt at poisoning also failed, repented and was converted. In the back-

ground another monk appears between the monk and Vajrapāni, and on each side of the Buddha is a large head, the first perhaps of King Bimbisāra, looking rather perturbed, the other of a person resembling the Buddha. Perhaps the sculptor had originally intended the head for that of the standing Buddha, but changed his mind. Behind the door curious neighbors or relatives witness the miracle. The relief is flanked by two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, the capitals of which support an interrupted architrave and a cornice with modillions. On each pilaster stands an amorino, facing the Buddha with hands clasped. For the story, cf. No. 124, and a relief in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 57, No. 79; also Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 533, Fig. 162. Paired, parallel lines indicate folds on the drapery of Srīgupta and his wife.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 251, Fig. 434, d, and p. 847, add. to I, p. 533.

Group III

- 101 THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPERS. *Peshawar*, No. 1415. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound D. H. 14 3/4", w. 19". The Buddha is seated in the preaching pose under a flat-topped canopy, from the corners of which hang stylized ribbons and what are probably conventionalized wreaths, rather than bunches of pearls; cf. Nos. 80 and 185. He is flanked by a princely couple, the man being at the left, and both of them seated in the European way and with hands clasped. Behind the prince are two other men in princely costume, the one in the upper background throwing flowers, the other holding a lotus flower in one hand and what probably is a bowl decorated with crisscross lines in the other. Behind the lady are two female attendants, one carrying a bowl and a stylized garland, the other throwing

flowers, like her male counterpart. Rather than referring to an actual happening during the lifetime of the Buddha, the relief probably commemorates the occasion on which the princely couple made various gifts to the community of the Buddhist monks. On all the figures the drapery folds are rendered by paired, parallel lines.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 96. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 89. Group IV

- 102 THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPERS. *Peshawar*, No. 1709. From Sahri Bahlol, 1911-12, Mound C. H. 11", w. 15 5/8". On this fragmentary relief the Buddha is seated in the reassuring pose, hailed from the right by three men in princely costume. Above them the heads of three others can be seen; the one in the middle holds a flower, and the other two have clasped hands. At the left only the upper part of a princely figure has been preserved next to the Buddha and near the top of the relief. Probably six other princes were represented on this side too. In each of the five triangles that decorate the front of the throne is an indentation; cf. Nos. 196-97. For the forehead locks of the Buddha, see No. 60.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 5, 3d row right. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 89. Group III (IV)

- 103 ĀNANDA ASKS A CASTELESS GIRL FOR WATER. *Labore*, No. 2169. From Sikri. H. 5 1/2", w. 7". While staying with the Buddha at Srāvastī, Ānanda, the favorite disciple, one day passed by a well from which a girl, Prakriti, was drawing water. When Ānanda asked if he could have some water to drink, the surprised girl told him she was a *Mātangī*, a daughter of a pariah. Prakriti knew that those who belonged to a caste were forbidden all contact with pariahs, so she was no doubt dumfounded when

Ānanda persisted, saying that he was interested neither in her family nor in her birth. Prakriti then gave him a drink, and when the Buddha heard about the incident he made her a member of the order. This breaking of the rigid bonds of caste naturally created a sensation in the city, and, headed by the king, the citizens rushed to the Buddha to ask for an explanation. According to Foucher, the woman on the right standing at the well is Prakriti. As her head is turned to the right she is probably addressing someone, represented on a now missing part of the relief to the right of her. This outsider Foucher takes to be Ānanda. On the other side of the well stands a man with clasped hands, he, too, looking toward the right. He is dressed in a cloak bunched up around the shoulders in such a way that it falls apart, leaving the right leg uncovered. The way in which the robe is drawn up over the back of the head is found only among men of very low caste (see Nos. 143 and 447), so we may be justified in identifying him with the father or brother of Prakriti. On the left half of this relief two citizens hurry out of a door or gate to question the Buddha about the disturbing news. A fragment from Sahri Bahlol may represent Prakriti, but unfortunately the rest of the scene is missing: Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 53, Pl. XVI, b; see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 274, n. 2.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 501-02, Fig. 250. Group II

- 104 THE BUDDHA PREACHES TO THE GODS IN THE TRAYASTRIMSĀ HEAVEN. *Labore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 13 3/4". In the Buddhist writings we are told that once during the Buddha's wanderings he was translated to the Trayastrimsa heaven, the one presided over by Indra. He made the as-

cent in order to preach the Law to his deceased mother, Māyā, who had been reborn as a god with residence there. The Buddha is seated on a cushion-covered wooden throne, which indicates that he is a guest; see No. 105. He is surrounded by gods, and since the scene is the heaven of Indra, the god seated to the right in the place of honor must be Indra. The right hand of the Buddha is raised in the reassuring pose, an incised circle can be seen in the palm as on No. 60, and his left thumb and index finger are joined. This latter gesture later becomes indicative of argumentation. Indra raises his right hand in astonished admiration, while Brahma, on the other side, has his hands clasped in adoration. Above, two *dēvas* scatter flowers and a bearded Vajrapāni appears near the Buddha's right shoulder. It is possible that the *dēva* above Indra portrays that one of the thirty-three inhabitants of the Trayastrimsa heaven in whom Māyā was reborn. The distinction of having given birth to the Buddha earned her the double advancement to divine status and to the superior sex. For the forehead locks of the Buddha, see No. 60.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 226-33, Fig. V. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 485, Fig. 243.

Group III

- 105 INTERVENTION OF ĀNANDA. *Lahore*, No. 309, detail = No. 162, C. H. 7 1/2". The Buddha long resisted all attempts to create a female division of the Buddhist order. He finally yielded, at the insistence of his stepmother Mahāprajāpatī (the sister of Māyā), who was supported in her request by Ānanda, the favorite disciple. We may recognize Mahāprajāpatī in the lady next to the Buddha at the right, and, in the monk on the other side, Ānanda. Both are pleading with the Buddha, who, in raising his right hand in the re-

assuring pose, indicates assent to their request. Cf. a relief with similar subject: Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 274, Fig. 443 on p. 285, and p. 846, add. to I, p. 515.

Group III

- 106 VISIT OF THE SIXTEEN ASCETICS. *Peshawar*, No. 1151, A-C. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1908. H. 29 1/2", w. 34". It is most regrettable that this relief is in such a fragmentary state, as it represents one of the most ambitious and best executed of Gandhāran sculptures. The subject (see also No. 82, above) is the visit of the sixteen ascetics to the Buddha. They travelled to the cave in the Magadha region where he was then meditating in order to ask his counsel on the problems that they were unable to solve. The Buddha is of colossal size and must have had his right hand raised in the reassuring pose, indicating that he was able to answer all their questions to their full satisfaction. On the *sanghātī* of the Buddha on the left a forked fold appears; see No. 247 and Introduction, pp. 32 f. The sculptor has skillfully varied his representation of the sixteen figures along the base, showing their bodies clearly marked by the effects of age and austerities. Around the rocky shelter he has distributed charming and naturalistic details of the animal life that flourished on the wooded slopes of the mountain. Spooner calls special attention to the astonishingly realistic representation of the baubinia foliage above the two ascetics at the extreme right. The similarity to reliefs portraying the Visit of Indra is striking (see Nos. 130-31), extending even to the inclusion of Panchika in full armor at the top right. Since both visits were made to the Buddha in a cave, it is only natural that the frames should be similar. For the baubinia tree, see Viennot, *Culte de l'arbre*, pp. 174 and 273.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 143, Pl. XLIII, b. Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 52, 73. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 255-56, Fig. 432 on p. 247 (only No. 115, B). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 43, 89-90. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 307-08, Pl. 29, B. Group III

- 107 VISIT OF A GROUP OF ASCETICS. *Labore*, No. 1654. H. $3\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. 15". Here the Buddha is also seated in a cave, indicated both by the rocky wall on either side of his halo and by the curved lines engraved on the base. We are therefore justified in identifying this group of gaunt and half-naked Brahmans with an abbreviated version of the visit of the sixteen ascetics. Only five ascetics are represented (cf. No. 82), two to the left, three to the right. Each one of the former is accompanied by a disciple, whereas of the latter only the first one is thus attended. The ascetic at the extreme right is resting in a leafy hut.

Group III

- 108 VISIT OF A GROUP OF ASCETICS. *Peshawar*, No. 424. H. $5\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. 15". In this simplified version of No. 106 the Buddha is seated in the center meditating, flanked at each side by an ascetic with hands clasped in adoration. At the left another ascetic is urged on by a disciple who is pointing toward the Buddha; at the right another disciple approaches the Buddha with right hand raised in greeting and carrying over his left shoulder what looks like a tripod for the waterpot (cf. No. 140). He is followed at the extreme right by one more disciple who stands quietly, leaning on a staff such as is often carried by the older ascetics. A fragment from this same relief, now in the Petrie Collection in London, was taken from Chitral in 1896.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 57. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 78. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 49-50. Group III

- 109 LAST EPISODE IN THE MIRACLE OF SRĀVASTĪ. *Taxila*, No. 364. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 11". Six heretical teachers challenged the Buddha to a contest in Srāvastī to determine who could perform the most miraculous feats. The Buddha assented and before King Prasēnajit and a vast crowd performed a succession of such breath-taking miracles that none of the heretics dared to come forward when their turn came. Under a canopy of mango leaves, the Buddha sits on a throne of stone the front of which is decorated by a row of lozenges, each framing a four-petalled rosette. At his left King Prasēnajit sits on a wooden seat, his hands clasped in adoration. On the other side of the Buddha stands Vajrapāni, and beyond him are two naked heretics, one seated, one standing. The Buddha rests his right hand, palm turned upwards, on his right knee. For the Srāvastī miracles, see also Nos. 252-56.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 720, No. 132. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 222, No. 132. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 132 (A.D. 100-130). Group III

- 110 OFFERING OF A HANDFUL OF DUST. *Peshawar*, No. 1708. From Sahri Bahlol, 1911-12. H. $8\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $13\frac{3}{4}$ ". It was routine for the Buddha at a certain time of the day to wander around in quest of food. Once when he was doing this in Rājagriha, with his begging bowl held out before him, he met two small boys playing in the road. One of these moved as if to make an offering, but, having nothing else at hand, he took a good fistful of dust and dropped it into the bowl saying that it was barley flour. The Buddha was much impressed by this childish act of piety and prophesied that the boy would become a mighty Buddhist monarch in some future life. On the relief a group of worshipping princes

stand behind the small, chubby boy. The popularity of this scene may be explained by the subsequent interpretation that this boy in a later incarnation was born as Asoka, the first great Buddhist king in India. For the story, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 517-20, and Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 58, No. 81.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 6, 4th row left. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 38. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 43-44.

Group III (II)

- 111 OFFERING OF A HANDFUL OF DUST. *Lahore*, No. 1055. From the Peshawar Valley. H. 8", w. 11". In this version of rather inferior workmanship, the Buddha holds his alms bowl in his left hand. Consequently, the child who made the dust offering must have been portrayed at the right, just where the corner is broken off. The female head above the break probably represents the boy's mother, above whom the sculptor has carved a worshipping prince and Vajrapāni. At the left can be seen the other boy and a monk, and in the upper background three princes, two of them worshipping, one scattering flowers. An excellently preserved version, now in the Brundage Collection, has been published by John Pope in *Sculpture of Greater India*, New York, 1942, p. 29, No. 2 (right), ill. on p. 44. Another similar version is published by Hargreaves in his *Buddha Story*, pp. 38-39, Fig. XXX (Lahore).

Group III

- 112 MEASURING THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 820. H. 6½", w. 16¾". A young Brahman was told about the extraordinary height of the Buddha. He found the tale utterly incredible and, to verify it, took a bamboo pole sixteen feet long, went to the Buddha, and attempted

to measure him with it. The height of the Buddha, however, exceeded the sixteen feet, and still he seemed to grow. On the relief a monk and a Brahman are portrayed at the left, the latter with his head bent back and holding the bamboo pole in his hand. The Buddha stands facing the Brahman, his head touching the top of the panel, as does the pole; on his left is Vajrapāni. A version of this scene in Lahore gives a better idea of the comparative height of the Buddha and the Brahman: No. 1155; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 505, Fig. 251, b. For the story, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 521-25; for other versions see Nos. 161, E, and 163, A.

Group III

- 113 DĒVADATTA'S HIRELINGS ATTACK THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 1637. H. 10⅝", w. 21⅝". Three attempts were made on the Buddha's life by Dēvadatta, his jealous cousin. At one time he hired assassins who waylaid the Buddha. Thwarted by his infinite beneficence, they could not go through with the intended murder, confessed, and were converted. To the right stands the Buddha with Vajrapāni and monks, and to the left behind a wall are the assembled assassins, all dressed like professional wrestlers; see No. 445. They look tough and muscular, but the influence of the Buddha is already felt, and the foremost of them clasps his hands in adoration. Cf. No. 166, D, and Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 540-42.

Group III

- 114 UNIDENTIFIED (right). DĒVADATTA'S HIRELINGS ATTACK THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 1289. H. 6¾", w. 14¾". At the extreme left in this fragmentary relief one of the assassins is again portrayed with clasped hands. On

the other side of the wall stand the Buddha and Vajrapāṇi. Of the scene which appears to the right, I can offer no interpretation.

Group III

115 OFFERING OF THE MONKEY.

Lahore. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 14½". The Buddha is seated in the open air with his monks. At the left appears a monkey carrying an alms bowl filled with honey. The Buddha, with his right hand in the reassuring pose, accepts the gift and takes the bowl from the monkey with his left hand. The monkey is overjoyed and at the other side is seen walking away with his face turned toward the Buddha. The relief illustrates only this episode, but the texts continue the story and tell how the poor monkey, while walking backwards, falls into a pit and is drowned. However, as a reward for his good deeds, he is immediately reborn as a Brahman. The Buddha's *ushnisha* is here rendered by means of small globules. The forehead locks are like those of No. 60. For another version of the story, see No. 164, A.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 513, Fig. 254.
Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 37-38, Fig. XXIX.

Group III

116 SUMĀGADHĀ AND THE NAKED ASCETIC (right). THE BUDDHA DESCENDING FROM THE TRAYASTRIMSĀ HEAVEN. *Karachi.* Formerly Lahore Museum, Nos. 2124 and 1601. From Sikri. H. 13½", w. 20". Anāthapindada, the rich merchant from Srāvastī whom we met as the donor of the Jētavana Park (No. 95), had a daughter by the name of Sumāgadhā. After her marriage she went to live in her husband's house far away from Srāvastī. Her new family did not share her religious beliefs, but were staunch supporters of the Nir-

granthas, the naked ascetics of the Jaina sect. As a Buddhist and a woman, Sumāgadhā was profoundly shocked by the lack of clothing of these ascetics, and one day, as illustrated, she took a stick and belabored one of them, to the consternation and wrath of her father- and mother-in-law, who witnessed the incident from the balcony of the house. Unfortunately for Sumāgadhā, in the excitement of the battle the upper part of her costume slipped down, an accident that would seem especially inopportune at this particular moment. It must, however, be remembered that the women of India in ancient times did not have what Foucher calls "*pudeur du sein*" (*AGBG*, I, p. 533; cf. below, Nos. 412-14). As a result of her altercation with the ascetic, Sumāgadhā would probably have been sent back to her own family, but—as one can see to the left—she prayed to the Buddha, who immediately came flying, emitting flames from both feet and shoulders. Princes and Brahmans gave him an enthusiastic reception, and we may assume that not only this impressive gathering but also her in-laws were converted to Buddhism. Codrington interprets this last scene as the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastrimsa heaven, but the reliefs illustrating that event never fail to represent the ladders or stairs used in this descent; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 537-40, Figs. 264-65, and for a relief in Detroit, see Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, p. 50 and Pl. XXV, 91. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 31-33, Fig. XXIV. Fabri, *Acta Orientalia*, VIII, 1930, pp. 286-93. On a similar slab, on the art market, the group to the left of the Buddha looks very much like the corresponding part of this relief; see Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, No. 32.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 531, Fig. 261 (part to the right only). Codrington, in

The Art of India and Pakistan, p. 37, Pl. 20, No. 114. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, London, 1954, Pl. XXXIII, b.

Group III

- 117 CONVERSION OF UGRASENA. *Peshawar*, no number. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 5", w. 8". The story alluded to here is perhaps that of Ugrasena, a young man of good family who for love of a tight-rope walker broke with his family and had to earn his living, like his wife, as an acrobat. One day while he was performing, the Buddha saw him and converted him on the spot with all his companions. If the interpretation is correct, Ugrasena is the monk kneeling before the Buddha while behind him are two members of his troupe, one of them a drummer. We might, however, most naturally expect Ugrasena to be wearing the costume of an acrobat, not that of a monk. For the story, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 520-21, and Edward J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 113. A panel in Lahore, No. 2088: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 522, Fig. 256, b, is reminiscent of this relief, but lacks the kneeling monk. Foucher, therefore, labels it a simplified version of the entry into Rājagriha (*op. cit.*, II, p. 847). Group III (II)

- 118 CONVERSION OF ANGULIMĀLA. *Lahore*, No. 2361. H. 10½", w. 15¼". A certain Ahingsaka, of Brahman caste, so excelled in the school at Taxila that the other pupils became jealous of him. They therefore went to the professor and accused Ahingsaka of taking improper liberties with the professor's wife. Their accusations were believed, and the professor thought up a wicked and fantastic scheme in order to avenge himself on the student. He called him, told him of the charges, and said that he could instruct him no further

unless he killed a thousand persons and brought their fingers as evidence of their death. Ahingsaka professed his innocence, but because of his love of learning he resolved to carry out the professor's order. Going into a forest, he began to murder all who passed by, and he soon received the name Angulimāla, "having a garland of fingers," because he cut off and wore as a diadem the fingers of his victims. When he had murdered 999 persons his mother learned that the ferocious murderer was her son, and immediately went out to attempt to bring him to his senses. He was about to kill her and complete the tally, when the Buddha entered on the scene. The Buddha knew that Angulimāla had enough virtue, from merit accumulated in previous incarnations, to enter the priesthood, and therefore set out to convert him. At the right Angulimāla draws his sword to kill his mother, paying no attention to the food she had brought out for him. Prevented by the Buddha, Angulimāla wheels about to attack the newcomer, but the manner and the words of the Buddha disarm him, he repents and is converted. Two flying genii float in the air overhead (cf. Nos. 121, 255), probably holding a garland (see No. 121). For a most remarkable painted sketch from Hadda of Angulimāla attacking the Buddha, see Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Hadda*, I, Paris, 1933, p. 163, Fig. 142. The Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hsien (c. A.D. 400) and Hsüan-tsang (in A.D. 620) place the conversion of Angulimāla at Srāvastī. For the story, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 11-14, 854. Group III

- 119 CONVERSION OF ANGULIMĀLA. *Peshawar*, No. 1371, detail. From Sahri Bahlol, 1910. H. 16". The story is here told in a much more dramatic way than in the previous relief, and the sculptural rendering is far superior. At the right, as

Angulimāla is about to kill his mother, holding her hair with his lifted left hand and bracing his left knee against her right thigh, he looks back startled at the sudden appearance of the Buddha. On the left we see how he intends to finish off this newcomer, leaping at him and swinging his sword as if to cut off his head with a single stroke. Presently, however, he succumbs to the miraculous power of the Buddha, and in the third representation of him in this panel he lies prostrate at the Buddha's feet, his sword and the grisly diadem thrown to the ground. The background is crowded with flower-scattering and worshipping genii.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 52, Pl. XVI, d. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 12, Fig. 304. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 39-40, 94. Shakur, *Guide*, 45-46, 85. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 14, Fig. 33. Group III

- 120 THE WHITE DOG THAT BARKED AT THE BUDDHA (right). THE SEVEN BUDDHAS. *Peshawar*, No. 794. H. 5 3/4", w. 21". At Srāvastī the Buddha one day went to visit a certain Suka. He was not at home, and the Buddha decided to wait for his return, in spite of the furious and continued barking of Suka's white dog. When Suka arrived, the Buddha, who had miraculously divined the cause of the dog's strange conduct, explained to him that his dead, miserly father had been reborn in the shape of the dog. The animal evidently feared the Buddha, because it had hidden a treasure during its former incarnation. At the direction of the Buddha, Suka then asked the dog where it had buried the treasure. In answer, the dog crawled under the couch, began to dig, and soon uncovered the treasure. The dog stands at the right on a couch placed within an alcove, with flat top and sloping sides. To the left stands

Suka with his hands clasped, next to him the Buddha, Vajrapāni, and a monk. For the story of the white dog, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 524-25.

Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 34-36, Fig. XXVII. Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 58-59, No. 82. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 304-05.

In the incomplete panel at the left the seven figures were identified by Spooner as the seven last Buddhas of our age, occasionally represented on the Gandhāran reliefs together with Maitreya, the Buddha of the future. Against this interpretation, however, may be cited the fact that in the known representations of Maitreya and the seven Buddhas, the latter are dressed in the Buddha robe and only Maitreya appears in the princely robe of a Bodhisattva. On our relief, every other figure—three, in all—wears a princely costume, and the remaining four wear the customary Buddha robe. Our relief may therefore rather be explained along the lines of Mahāyāna theology as portraying the five Bodhisattvas and their corresponding Buddha counterparts; see Introduction, p. 20, and No. 234, Miss de Mallmann, *Indian Arts and Letters*, XXI, 1947, p. 84, and Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 34-36. For representations of the "augmented seven," see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 329-32, 861-62, add. to I, pp. 333-35 and 372 f., and for sculptured representations: Foucher, *AGBG*, II, 323, Fig. 457 (formerly at Peshawar); a relief now in Baltimore Museum of Art: Bingham, *Collection of Gandhara Sculpture*, 1954, No. IV; a stele in Berlin: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 193, Fig. 77, and below, No. 135.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 139, Pl. XLIII, a, above right (both panels). Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 67. White dog panel only: Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 38. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 44-45. Group III

121 THE BUDDHA AND THE NURS-
LING OF THE DEAD WOMAN.
BODHISATTVA AND WORSHIP-
PERS. *Peshawar*, No. 1885. From Jamal
Garhi. H. $15\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. 21". The jealous
senior wives of a certain king conspired
against his youngest wife, who was with
child. They decided to bribe the palace
Brahman to tell the king that not only was
she a creature of ill omen but that the
child she was bearing would cause the de-
struction of both the king and his king-
dom. The terrified king then buried the
youngest wife alive in a tomb, in order to
neutralize the fateful prophecies. Such,
however, were the merits acquired by both
her and the unborn child in previous exist-
ences that she not only was delivered of
her son after her death but was able mirac-
ulously to suckle him. For three years the
child, Sudāya, lived in the tomb, until the
crumbling of the wall enabled him to free
himself. For three more years he lived in
the jungle. There Buddha saw him during
a visit to the region and made him a monk,
despite his tender years. At the left one
sees the Buddha and facing him the child,
whose hands are clasped in adoration. The
boy is naked, having of course never had
any clothes during his life in the jungle.
The tomb is represented as a brick vault.
The head and trunk of the dead woman
can be seen, the left side portrayed as a
desiccated cadaver, whereas the right
breast is shown round and firm, as of a
living woman. At the left of the Buddha
is Vajrapāni. Above the child, likewise
facing the Buddha and with hands clasped,
stands a man dressed like the Buddha and
even with *ushnisha*. He may represent the
royal father, who was later converted by
Sudāya. In the background *dēvas* express
their admiration by scattering flowers. At
the right of the tomb is depicted another,
quite unrelated scene. In the center a

Bodhisattva, perhaps Siddhārta, is por-
trayed, facing front and even taller than
the Buddha. He is flanked by a worship-
ping prince at the left and Vajrapāni to the
right; above his head two flying genii carry
a garland, as on No. 118.

Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1921-22, pp. 59-60,
Pl. 24, d. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 40-
41, 59. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 46-47, 94.

Group III (IV)

122 JYOTISHKA SAVED FROM THE
PYRE. *Lahore*, No. 706. H. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 8".
In Rājagriha lived a certain Subhadra, who
belonged to the Nirgranthas, the sect of
naked ascetics (cf. No. 116). When the
Buddha on his daily tour asked him for
alms, he in his turn inquired about the
child his wife was bearing. The Buddha
predicted that the wife would give birth
to a son who would make his family re-
nowned. The very generous alms that the
Buddha then received naturally excited the
jealousy of the Jaina monks, who warned
Subhadra that the child would bring noth-
ing but disaster. The thoroughly fright-
ened Subhadra thereupon gave his wife
drugs to cause an abortion. She died from
the effects, but when her body was being
cremated the child came from her womb
unscathed. The Buddha's physician, the
famous Jīvaka, is supposed to have deliv-
ered the child, who became known as Jyo-
tishka, the flamboyant, because he had
been born in the midst of flames. The
father would have nothing to do with the
boy, so King Bimbisāra promised to take
charge of his upbringing. The man stand-
ing next to the Buddha is probably Bim-
bisāra, who is receiving the child from the
hands of Jīvaka. In the Brooklyn Museum
there is an interesting version of this scene;
see H. Comstock, *International Studio*, 83,
1926, p. 26, above.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 35, Pl. 10,

3. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 526, Fig. 259.
Group III (IV)

123 THE BUDDHA AND MONKS AT THE HOUSE OF SRĪGUPTA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. $9\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. 16". The Buddha and his monks are partaking of a meal, evidently served in a private house. The Buddha is seated, not on a stone block as in his monasteries (see No. 96), but on a wooden throne. He is served by a man with an *ushnīsha* on his head and dressed in a robe that is draped low over the front of the right shoulder. On the left a slender Corinthian column supports an entablature with interrupted architrave. The frieze above shows a saw-tooth pattern, and the same motif is used again between the modillions of the cornice. Three of these modillions are decorated with rosettes, the one farthest to the left with two diagonal lines and indentations; cf. No. 196. At the far left on an Indo-Corinthian pilaster a meditating Buddha with hands covered is seated on an inverted-lotus pedestal. It is impossible to say to what particular event this panel refers. It may represent the meal in Srīgupta's house at which the Buddha rendered the poisoned food innocuous, since a relief in Calcutta shows a scene similar to this one, just to the left of a panel showing the first Srīgupta miracle: the Buddha and his disciples walking on lotus flowers. See Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 533, Fig. 262. Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 57-58, No. 80. For other versions see our Nos. 100 and 124, right.

Group III

124 THE BUDDHA INVITED BY SRĪGUPTA (right). UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1849. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912. H. $7\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $22\frac{1}{4}$ ". The panel to the right clearly illustrates the Srīgupta story. The Buddha, Vajrapāni, and a monk

are seen walking on the miraculously produced lotus flowers, and before them Srīgupta himself with a sweeping gesture invites them into his house to the meal of poisoned food. The panel to the left is unidentified. The collapsing figure at the extreme left may someday give a clue. Above both panels is a row of modillions, decorated with acanthi. For a parallel to the first panel, see Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 57, No. 79.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 42-43, 105.
Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 49, 88.

Group III (IV)

125 KING UDAYANA PRESENTS THE BUDDHA IMAGE TO THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1534. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound D. H. 12", w. $16\frac{3}{4}$ ". The Buddha is seated on a wooden throne in the preaching pose under a summarily executed arboreal canopy. At the right are two monks on the usual stone seats, the first with his right hand under his robe, the left hand holding an end of the drape; the other monk is meditating, with both of his hands covered. To the left a princely person presents the Buddha with a statuette of a meditating Buddha. This person is King Udayana of Kausāmbī, who, according to tradition, had an image of the Buddha made in sandalwood during the latter's sojourn in the Trayastrimsa heaven. When the Buddha came back from the heavenly mansions he sanctioned the use of this image, and it was still worshipped at Kausāmbī in the time of the Chinese pilgrims. The texts pertaining to this story indicate a late date, as does also the style of the relief, especially the partially smooth and empty background (see Rowland). One may further point to the curious way of rendering the hair just above the middle of the forehead. It seems to be arranged here in a way reminiscent

of that of a Buddha from Sahri Bahlol: Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 127-28, Pl. XVII, Fig. 26, and our No. 246. Above each of the flanking Corinthian pilasters is a short interrupted architrave supporting a cornice with modillions above a plain frieze. All drapery folds are rendered by means of paired, parallel lines. For the story, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 729, and Fig. 592 on p. 775.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 97. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 89, Pl. VI. Rowland, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XI, 1948, pp. 181-86, Fig. 1 (4th-5th century A.D.). Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 1949, p. 281, n. 70. Edwards, *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1954, pp. 115-16 and Fig. 19. Group IV

- 126 CONVERSION OF THE YAKSHA ĀTAVIKA. *Lahore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 13 1/4". In order to save his own life, a certain King Ātavī had promised the *yaksha* Ātavika that each day he would send him one of his subjects to eat. One by one the monster had devoured the men and women picked out for him until the only person left was the king's young son. Orders were given that he too be taken to the *yaksha*, but before the child arrived the Buddha had seated himself in the monster's abode. No threats from the *yaksha* could dislodge the Buddha, and the Buddha's answers to the questions that the monster had asked each of his victims were so wonderful that even the anthropophagous monster was converted. When the child came, the *yaksha* quietly handed him over to the Buddha, who returned him to his family. The couple to the right with the child are the king and queen, who are bringing their son to the *yaksha*, both the king and the child with their hands clasped in adoration. That all ends well we may infer from the reassuring pose of the Buddha, and actually at the

left Ātavika with typically dishevelled hair places the child upon the Buddha's throne. The male figure behind the child may represent either Vajrapāni or the *yaksha's* doorkeeper, specifically mentioned in the texts. In the upper corners celestial beings float in worshipping attitudes. For the incised circle in the right palm of the Buddha, see No. 60.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 190-99, Fig. I. Huber, *BEFEO*, IV, 1904, p. 461 (maintains that instead of king and queen, the parents of the boy were just a rich merchant and his wife). Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 509, Fig. 252. Group III

- 127 CONVERSION OF THE YAKSHA ĀTAVIKA. *Peshawar*, No. 471. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 7", w. 9 1/2". In this version the Buddha is likewise seated on the throne of the *yaksha* in the reassuring pose. The front of the throne is decorated with three rosettes, a floral ornamentation ordinarily found only on the thrones that figure in the Enlightenment scenes; see Nos. 68 and 70. Buddha is flanked by two Indo-Corinthian pilasters that support the typical Indian arch. The *yaksha* standing at the left is about to hurl some object at the audacious one who has dared to take possession of his throne. On the other side he meekly hands over to the Buddha the child who was to have been the last human offering from the realm of King Ātavī.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 58. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 41, Fig. 323. Wellesz, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 7, Pl. 14. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 37, 79. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 43, 85. Group III

- 128 INDRA AND HIS HARPIST VISIT THE BUDDHA IN THE INDRA-SĀLA CAVE. *Lahore*, No. 1401. H. 7 1/8", w. 6 1/8". Once while the Buddha

was meditating in a solitary cave situated in one of the rocky mounds of the Magadha country, Indra and his harpist Panchasikha came to visit him. The hilltop itself seemed to be ablaze with fire, reflecting the effulgence that emanated from the Buddha. The harpist first sang some hymns in praise of the Buddha and then announced the arrival of his master, Indra. During the ensuing conversation a number of philosophical problems were put to the Buddha by the elder god—questions that were answered promptly and in such a way that Indra departed in grateful satisfaction after having first duly worshipped the Buddha. The Gandhāra sculptures illustrating Indra's visit have been divided by Foucher into two classes. In both the Buddha is shown meditating. The first is close to the old Indian prototype in which the cave occupies the right-hand section of the scene, the Buddha looks to the right, and the harpist and Indra both stand at the left, the harpist nearer the cave; see No. 129. In the second class the cave is in the center, the Buddha facing front (see No. 132), and whereas the harpist is still at the left of the cave Indra has moved over to the right. A special subdivision of this class, however, presents a more complicated picture. To the original two visitors the sculptors have added minor deities, animals, and trees arranged in horizontal bands around the outside of the cave; see Nos. 130–31. Our relief may be classed as an intermediary type. The presence of Indra to the right and the general location of the cave in the center recall the reliefs in Class II. On the other hand, the Buddha is looking to the right as on three reliefs that clearly belong to Class I, namely: 1. Relief in Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, No. 2240/3. 2. Relief in Lahore, No. 2015; Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, pp. 19–20, Fig. 44. 3. Relief

that follows, No. 129. For the story, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 492–97. Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, I, 1928, 33 ff. Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 62–63. Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 1949, pp. 254–58, and in *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 317, n. 48.

Bosch, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, VII, 1950, Pl. V, 2. Group II

- 129 INDRA AND HIS HARPIST VISIT THE BUDDHA IN THE INDRA-SĀLA CAVE. *Lahore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 14¼". The interior contour of the cave has become more realistic in this portrayal, and the mountain begins to be animated with plant and animal life. Two deer can be seen on the top of the mountain, two others below the cave; between the latter two a large lion's head peers out peacefully. Pinwheel-like figures around the cave are probably meant to suggest the underbrush covering the mountainside. The Buddha is seated on branches within the cave, and, as is generally the case in Class I, the Buddha's hands are covered, the drapery below the hands falling squarely to the ground as on No. 96. The harpist and Indra are at the left, the former here, too, greatly exceeding the latter in size; above them two celestial beings scatter flowers.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 209–16, Fig. III. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 495, Fig. 247. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 39–40, Fig. XXXI. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 20, Fig. 46. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 108–09, Pl. III, 3. Group III

- 130 THE VISIT OF INDRA AND HIS HOST TO THE INDRA-SĀLA CAVE. *Taxila*, No. 544. From Jauliān, Chapel C 15. H. 32½", w. 25½". Here the outline of the cave entrance roughly follows the shape of the Buddha. On the mountain-

side itself gods, men, animals, and trees cover practically every inch of the surface, ranged on uneven, rocky ledges; on the base, instead of the lion and two deer of No. 129, we find only one animal but numerous gods. The animal is Airāvata, Indra's elephant, holding the royal umbrella in its trunk, but it is very difficult to identify with certainty the remaining kneeling and standing figures. A goddess and a kneeling god in front of the elephant may be Indra and his wife Sāchi. Perhaps Brahma is to be recognized in the god standing second from the left. The next but one to the right of "Brahma" holds an uncertain object in his left hand which the god next to him also touches. One thinks of a harp, but to judge from the parallel relief, No. 131, the harpist is to be found on the first ledge to the left, here at a level with the Buddha's right knee. Next to the harpist appears what has been interpreted as the six hoods of a Nāga king (Hargreaves), but it is more probably a tree, similar to the one on the third ledge on the same side. Under this tree the outline of a seated figure can be seen, probably a Vajrapāni, who is similarly represented on Nos. 131, 134, and the British Museum version. On the corresponding ledge to the right Panchika sits in European fashion, a spear over his shoulder and wearing scale armor; see Nos. 338-39. He appears in similar attire, also on the right of the Buddha, on No. 131, on the version from the British Museum and on one from Sahri Bahlol. On other ledges standing *dēvas*, lions, deer, and trees complete the setting, not to mention the little monkey who sits in direct imitation of the Buddha in meditation to the right and below the Vajrapāni figure, just as on the Calcutta piece. So far six versions are known to me: 1. Relief in Calcutta: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 493, Fig. 246.

2. No. 134. 3. Relief in the British Museum; see Introduction, p. 34, Pl. XVIII, 3. 4. No. 131. 5. Relief from Sahri Bahlol: Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 56-57, Pl. XIX, b. 6. Relief in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 63, No. 87. Folds rendered by pairs of parallel lines can be seen on the figure identified as Brahma on the base, and on a *dēva* on the first ledge at the right, on the extreme right of the base.

Marshall, "Excavations at Taxila," *MAI*, No. 7, Calcutta, 1921, Pl. XVIII, a, text by Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 40, No. 1. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, pp. 718-19, No. 124. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 221, No. 124. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 16, Fig. 38. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1946, pp. 116 f. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 308-09, Pl. 30, A, and p. 318, n. 52. Group IV

- 131 THE VISIT OF INDRA AND HIS HOST TO THE INDRASĀLA CAVE. *Peshawar*, No. 1944. From Mamāne Dherī, Charsadda subdivision. H. 30", w. 29½". The sides of the entrance are here much more symmetrical than in the preceding version from Taxila, No. 130. The figures on the base and on the ledges above are reminiscent of those on the Taxila relief, but there are differences. The assemblage on the base seems to derive from a similar iconographic prototype: Indra's elephant, Indra's wife, Indra himself kneeling, the two gods, one with an object in the hands, which is touched by the other, and Brahma; but the god in the corner at the left, kneeling under a tree, seems to have no counterpart in the Taxila relief. A similar kneeling god can be seen in the corresponding portion on No. 133. Perhaps both are to be identified with Indra. In favor of this identification is the fact that the British Museum version (see Introduction, p. 34, Pl. XVIII, 3) has an elephant, probably symbolic of

Indra, in the corresponding corner. If this interpretation is correct, the kneeling god in front of the goddess Sāchī on Nos. 131-32 must then be some other god than Indra. To the left of the cave above the base, both Vajrapāni and the harpist appear very clearly, the former seated under a fig tree, his torso completely nude. On the right, corresponding to Vajrapāni, Panchika in carefully rendered scale armor reclines under a tree. On this Peshawar relief there seem to be more monkeys, more birds, and more kneeling and standing *dēvas* in the attitude of adoration than in No. 130. The rocky ledges are not so level as in the first relief; the sculptor evidently tried to portray the natural irregular conditions of the wooded, mountainous slopes. Pairs of parallel lines indicate folds in the drapery not only on the legs of the Buddha but also on the garments of a number of the surrounding divinities, e.g., the goddess on the base to the left of Indra's elephant. In Konow's translation the Kharoshti inscription on the base reads: "Anno 89, in the month of Margasiras, the 5 (day), at this term was bestowed this religious gift by the sramana Dharmapriya, in honor of . . . , in honor of his teacher Buddhapriya, for the bestowal of health on his fellow disciples." For the date, see Introduction, p. 34.

Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1928-29, p. 142, Pl. LVIII, a. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 10-11, 36-37, 51. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 42-43, 57-58. Konow, *CII*, II, 1, 1929, pp. 171-72, No. LXXXVIII, Pl. XXXIV, below right. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 396, and Fig. 16. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, p. 226. Rowland, *AJA*, 46, 1942, p. 228, n. 21. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, pp. 15-16, Fig. 37. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1946, p. 118 (one of the latest examples of Gandhāra sculpture). Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp.

111, 113-14, Pl. VI, Fig. 9. Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 1949, pp. 256-58, and in *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 308-09, 312-13, 318, n. 52, and Pl. 30, B. Deydier, *Contribution*, p. 225. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 11-12.

Group IV

- 132 **INDRA AND BRAHMA VISIT THE BUDDHA IN THE INDRA-SĀLA CAVE.** *Taxila*, No. 585. From Giri. H. 21¼", w. 8½". Instead of the crowded mass of divine and animal figures of Nos. 130 and 131, here only two haloed figures flank the cave, Indra at the right, Brahma at the left, both with hands clasped in adoration. The Buddha himself is meditating, his hands covered by his robe, and under the cave on the base animals—in this case two wild boars facing each other—again complete the decoration. Above the cave a railing divides the panel from a sort of heaven above, in which there are four figures. The two outer ones are diving diagonally toward the middle of the balustrade and raining down large, four-petalled flowers over the top of the cave. Between these two wingless angels and partially concealed by them are two haloed figures who also are scattering flowers.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1927-28, p. 59, Pl. XIX, 1. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 716, No. 113. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 219, No. 113. Group II

- 133 **THE VISIT OF INDRA AND HIS HOST TO THE INDRA-SĀLA CAVE.** *Labore*, No. 859. H. 14", w. 9½". This fragment constitutes the lower left corner of an Indra Visit relief similar to Nos. 130 and 131. Of the figures in the lower row only four have been preserved. At the right stands a god seen from the back; the kneeling god in the corner is much larger than the others and recalls the cor-

respondingly placed figure in No. 130. He may likewise be identified with Indra. On the first of the rocky ledges stand three worshipping *dēvas* led by a harpist; at least three similar *dēvas* hail the Buddha from the ledge above. The relief is very deeply undercut. The drapery folds are clearly rendered by means of the paired, parallel lines.

Vogel, *BEFEO*, 3, 1903, pp. 159-60, Fig. 15 on p. 157. Group IV

- 134 THE VISIT OF INDRA AND HIS HOST TO THE INDRASĀLA CAVE. *Peshawar*, No. 787, detail. H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". This rendering of the scene comes from the same "multiple" relief as No. 62; the shape of the cave recalls that in No. 131. It too belongs to the same subdivision of Class II, but differs from the other versions in that three animal heads that are portrayed beneath the Buddha are actually carved in the front of the stony seat on which he sits, within the cave. These three heads protrude from three small caves or depressions in the stone. The space around the cave is filled with figures of gods and above them a few animals. At the left the god who kneels in front of the harpist is undoubtedly Indra; at the right of the cave another kneeling figure recalls the god at the lower left on No. 131. An almost nude Vajrapāni stands on a ledge above the Indra and harpist group, but the remaining gods are not arranged on ledges as in Nos. 130 and 131. Instead, they recede in three different planes back from the cave, as on the Calcutta relief (see under No. 130). Two flying genii hold a wreath or canopy over the top of the cave (cf. Nos. 118 and 121). The relief is deeply undercut. On the harpist the drapery folds are clearly rendered by means of paired, parallel lines.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, pp. 141-42, Pl.

XLIV, b. Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 66. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 37, 85. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 43, 98-99. Group IV

- 135 THE VISIT OF INDRA AND HIS HARPIST TO THE INDRASĀLA CAVE. *Lahore*, No. 550. H. 13", w. 19". All that is preserved of this version is the lower part of a Buddha seated in meditation, two figures at the left of a small segment of the cave outline, and most of the base. Of the two figures, the one nearer the cave is probably the harpist; the other, with his nonchalantly crossed legs, seems thus far without parallel in these reliefs. Likewise unique is the decoration of the base, which consists of a row of six seated figures: five Buddhas and, at the extreme left, one Bodhisattva. The latter is seated with his legs crossed and his right hand in the reassuring pose. The first and third Buddhas to the right of the Bodhisattva are in the preaching pose with the right shoulder uncovered; the second and fourth are both in the meditating attitude, and the fifth holds his right hand in a fold of his robe, as if it were a himation, whereas his left hand holds a fold of the robe between his knees. Of the six figures on the base, four are under the main Buddha, two to the left of him. It therefore seems safe to assume that there were two more figures on the right, making a total of eight. We have here, then, a case of the "augmented seven," the seven most recent Buddhas of the past, and Maitreya, the Buddha of the future; see No. 120 and below, Nos. 224, 227, and 228. It has been argued that the Buddha with the robe arranged as a himation was Siddhārtha-Buddha's predecessor Kāśyapa (see Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, pp. 189-90), but a relief more recently discovered shows three of the seven Buddhas in this same pose (cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p.

323, Fig. 457, and Vogel, in *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, p. 810). There was consequently no fixed iconographic tradition for distinguishing them. The following versions belong likewise to Class II as defined under No. 128: 1. Relief in Peshawar, recently acquired, the base of which shows indications of mountains as on Nos. 82 and 107. 2. Relief in the British Museum: Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 19, Fig. 45; on the base Indra's elephant is reclining with the royal umbrella in its trunk. 3. Relief formerly in the Alexander Scott Collection: *Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*, plate facing p. 25; on the base two lions look out peacefully from two smaller caves; cf. No. 129 and the Calcutta relief listed under No. 130.

Group III

- 136 THE COURTESAN ĀMRAPĀLĪ PRESENTS THE BUDDHA WITH A MANGO GROVE. *Labore*. From Sikri Stūpa. H. 13", w. 13½". The Buddha is seated on a draped, wooden throne, evidence that the scene takes place not in one of the monasteries but on a private estate to which he had been invited. The Buddha's right hand is in the reassuring pose, the incised circle clearly visible in the middle of the palm. The mango tree at the left and the mango leaves and blossoms in the arboreal canopy make it plain that the Buddha is a guest in a mango grove. At the left a woman stands holding in her right hand the spouted waterpot used whenever transfer of property was to be enacted; cf. Nos. 6, 95. Since the donor is a woman and the scene of action a mango grove, the property to be transferred was no doubt the grove, a gift of the courtesan Āmrāpālī. This lady, who came from the free city of Vaisālī, north of the present Patna, was famous in Bud-

dhist legends not only for her beauty and charm but also for her pious charity. It is in full accordance with Indian custom that Āmrāpālī stands at the right side of the Buddha, as the position at his left, the place of honor, is generally reserved for men. Here, however, this place is occupied by another woman who is presenting a garment to the Buddha. She looks very much like Āmrāpālī, so Foucher is undoubtedly right in identifying her too with Āmrāpālī. In this relief she is thus immortalized as one who has given the triple alms prescribed for Buddhist laics: food, clothing, and shelter. Food and shelter are implied in the presentation of the mango grove, while the garment draped over Āmrāpālī's hands points to her gift of clothing. An unbearded Vajrapāṇi appears at the left, and in the corner above him are two worshipping celestials.

Foucher, *JA*, 1903, 2, pp. 286-93, Fig. XI. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 491, Fig. 245. In the Foucher photograph at the right one may still distinguish a celestial being and a tree.

Group III

- 137 DEATH OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 2084. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 10½", w. 13½". The Buddhist texts date the donation of Āmrāpālī during the last year of the Buddha's life. His death, or *parinirvāṇa*, is said to have taken place after a short illness at Kusinagara, on the thirteenth of October, 483 B.C. The Buddha is lying on a couch, with a richly decorated blanket covering the mattress. A striking peculiarity of this and most other *parinirvāṇa* reliefs is the rendering of the Buddha's drapery folds. Instead of the folds' falling straight to the couch, they curve toward his feet just as they would if he were standing. At the left stands a bearded Vajrapāṇi in the same costume as in a number of other

sculptures probably made in the same workshop; see No. 12. In his left hand he holds the thunderbolt; the right he raises to his head in a gesture of grief. In front of the couch three monks sit on the ground, expressing in different ways their feelings of grievous loss. The monk at the left, who is perhaps Ānanda, the beloved disciple, is represented in three-quarter back view. He has buried his face in his hands. His neighbor to the right is portrayed in profile, kneeling to the right, holding his chin in his right hand, his left resting on his knee. The monk at the right is seen from the back, like Ānanda, and seems rather bewildered at the others' grief. At the foot of the couch one may still see the outline of a standing figure, probably the monk Mahākāśyapa, whom we shall encounter also in Nos. 138, 139, and 141. Back of the couch four princely persons, likewise in attitudes of grief, are the nobles of Kusinagara, the so-called Malla chieftains. Ānanda had been instructed by the Buddha to leave the matter of what to do with his body after death to the discretion of the leading laymen of the neighborhood, and that was why the noble Mallas were charged with the conduct of the funeral. The one to the right raises one hand to his forehead, and the one in the lower center holds his hands above his head; both gestures are symbolic of grief. The latter is common in the ancient Near East; see Haran, *Bulletin Israel Exploration Society*, 9, 1955, pp. 56 f. The trees in the corner were, as is evident from the examples that follow Nos. 137-41, sal trees, the species most widespread in that part of Nepal.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 557, Fig. 276 (in this photograph the drapery folds of the Buddha are more clearly indicated; Vajrapāni's right hand and the feet of the person at the extreme right can still be seen).

E.W.F., *BMFAB*, V, 1907, p. 60, fig. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103 C. Group III

- 138 DEATH OF THE BUDDHA. *Pe-shawar*, No. 130. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 10½", w. 15½". The drapery of the Buddha here falls in slightly more natural folds along the couch than is usually the case, and the same realistic tendency is evident in the folded pillow under the Buddha's head. To the right the monk with the staff at the foot of the bed is no doubt Mahākāśyapa, another of the Buddha's favorite disciples. He had met one of the naked ascetics on the road and from him learned that the Buddha had been dead for a week. He rushed to Kusinagara, and only then would the funeral pyre catch fire. The monk seated in front of the couch and seen from the back is probably to be identified with Subhadra, who had just joined the order, thus becoming the last convert to Buddhism during the lifetime of the Buddha. On his right a water bowl is hanging from a tripod of three sticks fixed in the ground. These three sticks help identify Subhadra, who had belonged to a group of ascetics whose distinguishing mark was a triple stick; see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 849, add. to I, p. 558, and below, No. 175. At the left the standing haloed figure is Vajrapāni, with the thunderbolt in his right hand. Behind the couch are the Malla nobles, the one in the center raising his arms in the same gesture of grief noted in No. 137. From the foliage of the sal tree, arboreal spirits join in the universal sorrow, as also on a relief in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 71-72, No. 99, Pl. X, b. For a Sasanian parallel to the bag hung from a tripod, see Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans*, Berlin, 1943, p. 98, Fig. 68. Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 109, Pl. XXXV, 10. Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 27-

28, 39. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 46, 65. Buchthal, *TOCS*, XIX, 1942-43, pp. 29-30, Pl. 8. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 53, 88.

Group III

- 139 DEATH OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 775. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1908. H. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 15". This version, too, is flanked by two sal trees. A disciple, Ānanda, fainting before the couch, is assisted by a brother monk standing at its head, while Subhadra, the last proselyte, unperturbedly continues his meditation. Mahākāśyapa touches the feet of the Buddha for the last time, while Vajrapāni, at the left, joins the Mallas behind the couch in lament.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 27-28, 65. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 46, 84. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 53, 100. Group III

- 140 DEATH OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1319 L. A. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1909. H. 6", w. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ". Four different scenes have been carved on the four sides of this rectangular block. At each corner Indo-Corinthian pilasters support a leaf-and-dart cornice. This side depicts a rather abbreviated version of the *parinirvāna*. At each side is a sal tree, behind the couch stand three Mallas, and in front Subhadra sits with his tripod and water bag. Although the pillow is naturalistically folded, the drapery of the reclining Buddha is like that of a standing statue; cf. a relief in Calcutta: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 558, Fig. 277, and above, No. 137.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 27-28, 77. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 46-47, 92. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 53, 101. Group III

- 141 DEATH OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 224. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". As on No. 139, three Malla nobles can be seen behind the couch and at its foot, in front of a sal tree, Mahākāśyapa, here too touch-

ing the feet of the Buddha. The monk seated on the left, facing front, is probably Ānanda, who as above is being pulled aside by someone farther to the left whose forearm only is preserved in this relief. The naked person, also facing front, who is seated next to Ānanda, is a newcomer. We may assume he is the ascetic who gave Mahākāśyapa the sad news. Because of lack of space the sculptor has not placed him next to Mahākāśyapa, where he is usually found (cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 559, Fig. 278, and p. 561, Fig. 279), but below the couch.

Group III

- 142 DEATH OF THE BUDDHA (right). CREMATION OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 697 M. H. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $17\frac{1}{4}$ ". The right lower section of this relief presents still another version of the *parinirvāna* story, Vajrapāni here appearing to the left in the same low-draped costume we have seen several times before (Nos. 53, 80, 91, 100, 131, 134). In the lower left is the cremation scene, conducted by the Mallas with the same ceremonies as were observed at the death of a Universal Monarch. Two men apparently in princely costume are seen pouring water or milk on the blazing pyre from small vessels tied to the ends of long poles; cf. also Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 583, Fig. 287, a relief then in Lahore. According to tradition, all the work connected with the cremation of the Buddha was done by the Mallas themselves, not by the usual "undertakers," members of a low and despised caste. I have not been able to identify the scenes in the top section.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 46. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 53-54, 107. Group III

- 143 THE COFFIN OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 1111. From Sanghao. H. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 13". In preparation for the actual cremation the body was wrapped in

five hundred layers of cotton cloth and put into an iron case filled with oil, over which a double cover of iron was then placed. On this relief one can clearly see the clamps by which the cover was fastened. Behind the coffin stand three monks and at the extreme right a sal tree and a man whose robe is drawn up over his head as if he belonged to a very low caste; see No. 103. On his shoulder he carries what seems to be a torch. He has been identified with the "undertaker," who under ordinary circumstances enjoyed the hereditary privilege of selling the firewood to the family of the deceased and of lighting the funeral pyre. But we saw in No. 142 that it was the Mallas who performed the work in connection with the cremation of the Buddha, so Foucher is undoubtedly right in interpreting this figure as Subhadra, the Buddha's last disciple; the supposed torch then becomes three sticks, the characteristic emblem of the ascetics to whom Subhadra had belonged; cf. Nos. 140, 447 and Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 849, add. to I, p. 558. For a similar relief in Calcutta, see Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 73, No. 101, Pl. XI, a.

Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 209, Fig. 151. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 577, Fig. 285.

Group I

- 144 THE COFFIN OF THE BUDDHA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. $18\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $18\frac{7}{8}$ ". The coffin is here surrounded by monks only, seven in all, of whom three show the right shoulder uncovered. The one to the left stands with his hands clasped in adoration, the two to the right raise their right hands to their heads in token of grief, and the one behind the couch in the center holds a fly whisk. Since a fly whisk was the prerogative of the king (see No. 12), the Buddha had forbidden his monks to use them, but it is naturally most appropriate here, at the cremation of a man whose

earthly remains were to receive the honors of a Universal Monarch; cf. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures*, p. 98. The drapery of the monk standing at the extreme right in front of a sal tree is reminiscent of that of No. 16. A small incense altar has been placed in front of the coffin, the cover of which is here decorated with a number of rosettes. For similar floral decoration on the sarcophagus, see Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 115, Fig. 58. A similar altar is found below in No. 153.

Group II

- 145 DEATH OF THE BUDDHA (right). TRANSPORTATION OF THE RELICS. CULT OF THE STŪPA. *Lahore*, No. 2030. From Sikri. H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $22\frac{7}{8}$ ". For some time it seemed that the death of the Buddha would result in a veritable war. The Mallas of Kusinagara, who were in possession of the corporeal remains of the Buddha, refused to share them with other tribes, among whom were the Sākyas of Kapilavastu and the Licchavis of Vaisālī. Thereupon these tribes, seven in all, marched against Kusinagara and war seemed imminent. It was, however, avoided by the timely intervention of a Brahman by the name of Drona, who suggested that the Mallas agree to a division into eight equal parts. The proposal was accepted and the work of division was entrusted to Drona, who, for his part, received the original funerary urn as a gift. At the extreme right in the lower section is a rather bad version of the *parinirvāṇa* scene, much like that of No. 139, except for the absence of Ānanda and his fellow monk. In the central panel the transport of the relics by camel and by horse is portrayed, the camel being clearly of the Bactrian or two-humped species and mounted as if it were a horse. On each side of this scene a narrow panel frames an amorino

looking to the right with hands clasped. To the left four princely persons advance toward a stūpa, a solid domelike mass of masonry raised on a square or circular plinth to enshrine relics of the Buddha; cf. Nos. 472 and 496, and below, under No. 155. Above these panels is a balustrade (see Nos. 468, 470) topped by a series of arches springing from what look like Indo-Corinthian capitals; cp. No. 257. Within each arch is a Buddha seated in meditation. The Buddhas are arranged in groups of three, with each figure in right profile followed by two in left profile.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 599, Fig. 300.

Group III

- 146 CREMATION OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1319, B. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1909. H. 6", w. 8 1/4". This is the second side of a rectangular block, whose first side portrayed the death of the Buddha (see No. 140). This version of the cremation is similar to that on No. 142, but here the task of putting out the blaze seems to be done not by the Mallas but by members of the "undertakers" caste; cf. No. 143.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 27-28, 77. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 46, 92. Shalkur, *Guide*, pp. 53-54, 101. Group III

- 147 CREMATION OF THE BUDDHA (center). DIVISION OF THE RELICS (left). *Lahore*, No. 2037. From Sikri. H. 8 3/4". This relief belongs to the same sculpture as Nos. 22, 29, 149, joining the latter at the right. At the lower right two princely persons advance toward the center with hands clasped. In the center the cremation is portrayed as in No. 142, that is, with the Mallas performing the menial task of extinguishing the flames of the pyre. On each side of this scene is a narrow panel enclosing an Indo-Corinthian pilaster. In the left-hand panel the

distribution of the relics is depicted. Behind a long table on which lie seven spherical objects stand three men, and at each end is another. The central figure appears to be the focus of attention of the other four; the two at the right are represented in left profile. Each of the four holds a bowl or box, but the man in the center holds an object resembling the balls on the table. These balls, probably of clay, contained the relics. Similarly, in present-day Kashmir the "ashes" of the dead are kneaded into balls for the funeral rites; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 592. The man in the center must be the arbiter, Drona, who is about to distribute the first of the eight relics to the four princes who here represent the eight tribes: the Mallas and the united seven. Above this bottom panel there is, as on No. 145, a balustrade, here surmounted by a panel in which suspended arches alternate with simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns set in narrow, rectangular frames. Within each arch stands an amorino.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 597, Fig. 298.

Group III

- 148 MĀYĀ AND SIDDHĀRTA RETURN TO KAPILAVASTU. *Lahore*, No. 227. H. 3 3/4", w. 6 7/8". Two horsemen precede a litter carried by four men, who are represented frontally though they are advancing to the left following the horses. Owing to the limitations of space, they are cut down to a smaller size than the mounted escort. The litter is in the shape of a trefoil arch, and inside is a rather indistinct object that suggests an incense altar. Foucher identifies it with an abbreviated rendering of Māyā with her child, a hypothesis that is confirmed by a relief recently acquired by the Baltimore Museum of Art, representing a similar trefoil litter, within which Māyā with Siddhārta in her lap can

be clearly distinguished; see John Bingham, *A Collection of Gandhara Sculpture*, No. XIII. In the background at either end of the litter a pedestrian guard is shown slightly larger than the horsemen. This relief should have been placed between Nos. 17 and 18.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 312, Fig. 159.

Group II or III

- 149 TRANSPORTATION OF THE RELICS (right). CULT OF THE STŪPA. *Labore*, No. 2061. From Sikri. H. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 17". This relief comes from the same sculpture as Nos. 22, 29, and 147 and at its right joins the latter, illustrating the events following the death of the Buddha. After the distribution, the relics were taken to their final resting places in the stūpas built for them by the recipient tribes. On No. 145 one of the two men carrying the relics rode a horse, the other a camel; here the one man to whom the relics have been given rides on an elephant and is escorted by two horsemen. In the panel at the left two monks and two princely persons stand on either side of a stūpa, with clasped hands, worshipping the relics of the Buddha.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 596, Fig. 297, d-e.

Group III

- 150 TRANSPORTATION OF THE RELICS. *Labore*, No. 1172. H. $8\frac{1}{8}$ ". The relics are here held by men riding on rather crudely carved Bactrian camels. They are mounted as if on horseback (see No. 145), as is likewise the case in Palmyra; see, e.g., Ingholt, *Berytus*, III, 1936, p. 119, Pl. XXIV, 2. They wear the Parthian-Scythian costume of trousers and riding caftan. This costume is eminently suited to riding, the caftan being actually a forerunner of the European *redingote* (originally, riding coat); see Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, p. 272, nn. 4-5.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 12, Pl. 141, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 593, Fig. 295.

Group II or III

- 151 THE URN CARRIED INTO KUSINAGARA. *Labore*, No. 148. H. $8\frac{1}{8}$ ". After the cremation the funerary urn was first taken into Kusinagara, and it was there that the distribution of relics took place. A man seen from the back is about to enter the city gate, which is guarded by two stalwart warriors armed with spears. The man carries the urn with its precious contents on his left shoulder. He is dressed in the rather inappropriate costume of an athlete or bravo; see Nos. 113 and 445. His attire, therefore, might seem to cast some doubt on the above interpretation; but Foucher substantiates it by explaining the unusual costume as a play on words, the equivalent of "This is the country of the Mallas," since the Sanskrit word for professional athlete is *malla*.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 585, Fig. 288.

Group III

- 152 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELICS. *Peshawar*, No. 1973. H. 6", w. $9\frac{3}{8}$ ". Here again we see the city walls of Kusinagara, flanked by two nude *yakshas*, each standing under a tree on a waterpot pedestal; see Nos. 369-70. The gate is now closed, but to let us know what happened inside the sculptor has portrayed the distribution scene on top of the walls. Seven princes can be seen standing, four to the left of Drona and three to the right. The full number of eight-nine, with Drona—is rarely found on the reliefs; cf. one example in Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 591, Fig. 293, and below, No. 167, C. The Brahman arbiter has not yet begun the actual distribution, as there are still eight portions on the table.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 107.

Group III

153 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELICS.

Lahore, No. 139. From Ranigat. H. $8\frac{3}{8}$ ". In this abbreviated version of the distribution one gets a better view of Drona, portrayed frontally and on a larger scale than the princes. Instead of eight claimants, only four are represented, two on each side of the Brahman. The sculptor has, nevertheless, kept good count of the eight relics available: there are five on the table, Drona holds one, and so does each of the two princes flanking him. It is interesting to note the difference in costume between the two latter, the prince at the right clad in the appropriate Indian garb, the one to the left in the Partho-Scythian nomadic dress; see No. 150. An incense altar is burning in front of the table on which for a short time the last remains of the Buddha rest; see No. 144. At the right a *yakshī* with hands clasped is standing on the waterpot base; cf. Nos. 362 and 364.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 12, Pl. 142, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 591, Fig. 294. Group III

154 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELICS.

Peshawar, No. 2043. From Jamal Garhi. H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ". Here, as in No. 152, all eight portions seem to be on the table, while at the left three princes stand with reliquaries in hand, waiting for Drona to hand them their allotted portions. On the broken part to the right, no doubt three more princes were represented, making a total of six. The Brahman is here shown in profile, probably while taking a reliquary from the prince standing at his left, the place of honor, the first to have his reliquary filled.

Group III (IV)

155 CULT OF THE STŪPA.

Peshawar, No. 1151. M. H. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $13\frac{1}{2}$ ". On reaching home, each of the eight had to build a stūpa; see No. 149. The ashes of a Buddha were not to be thrown to the winds, but

deposited in this specifically Indian sepulchral or memorial monument. To the left, our incomplete relief shows two stūpas, a princely worshipper at the right of each. At the extreme right is one more stūpa, probably the first in a now incomplete row. It is divided from those on the left by a narrow panel containing an Indo-Corinthian pilaster. The three stūpas vary but little; one may note that the base of the one at the extreme left shows an all-over pattern of disks only, whereas the two others are decorated by single rosettes in panels. For the history of the stūpa, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 54-58, and II, p. 822, add. to I, p. 62; also Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 51-56, 88-89.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 107. Group III

156 CULT OF A RELIQUARY.

Lahore, No. 1011. From the Peshawar Valley. H. $3\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. $19\frac{3}{8}$ ". Topped by a leaf-and-dart molding, this incomplete relief presents four suspended, Indian arches and traces of a fifth at the left, separated from one another by Indo-Persepolitan columns of the simplified type. A reliquary can be seen under the first complete arch at the left. It is worshipped by two monks, standing under the next two arches to the right. Under the last arch on the right there is a Buddha facing front, his hand wrapped in his robe as if it were a himation; see No. 135. Probably this Buddha was receiving homage from two worshippers, under two arches to the right, now lost. On a base once in the Alexander Scott Collection a reliquary is worshipped by monks and female worshippers; see *Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*, p. 16, fig.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 225, Fig. 101.

Group III

157 CULT OF THE STŪPA.

Lahore, No. 627. H. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". The stūpa on this relief recalls those on No. 155, but differs

from them in two important aspects. The umbrellas at the top have been telescoped together, and at each side a railing can be seen along the edge of the pedestal, separating the sacred precinct from the secular world; cf. two reliefs, one in the Louvre, one in Berlin: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 87, Fig. 24, and p. 595, Fig. 296.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 85, Fig. 23.

Group III

- 158 GUARDING THE URN. *Peshawar*, No. 1319 C. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1909. H. 6". The funerary urn that we saw carried into the city on No. 151 was carefully watched, prior to the eightfold divisions. Here two Malla chieftains are evidently the guards. The priceless vessel rests upon a throne and is covered by a bell-shaped canopy decorated by crossed garlands. On other reliefs Yavanis are the guardians; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 587-88, Figs. 289, 291. For the other three sides of the block, see Nos. 140, 146, and 243.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 77. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 47, 92. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 54, 101.

Group III

- 159 A-C. UNIDENTIFIED (A). THE BUDDHA AND DONORS (B). THE DĪPANKARA BUDDHA (C). *Lahore*, No. 1277. H. 23 1/2", w. 14 3/4". The sculptures that follow, Nos. 159-69, come from stūpas or monasteries and give an idea of how some of the reliefs described above were originally composed, not as isolated sculptures, but forming a single element in the decorative and narrative scheme of a stele, the individual reliefs being placed one on top of the other, as in No. 162. The subjects are exclusively centered on the Buddha, but whereas the horizontal, multiple reliefs seem to be arranged in chronological sequence—as, for example, Nos. 10, 18, 22, 29, 30, 48, 142, 147, and 149—their

vertical counterparts apparently follow no such order. In the panels in which the Buddha is flanked by gift-bearing or worshipping men or women, the latter may not represent people contemporary with the Buddha, from the late sixth or early fifth century B.C., but may depict people living at the time the sculpture was made; cf. especially Nos. 189, 285, and 287. Panel B may belong in this category, or it may represent a different version of the Āmrapāli gift; see No. 136. The Buddha's throne is decorated by three rectangles with incised wedges between most of the diagonals; cf. No. 102. The Dīpankara story in panel C seems to have been very popular; cf. Nos. 7 and 160, B. Paired, parallel lines indicate the drapery folds on the costume of Sumati.

Group III

- 160 A-B. THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (A). THE DĪPANKARA BUDDHA (B). *Lahore*, No. 62. From Sikri. H. 10 1/2", w. 14 1/8". The trapezoidal shape of the central reliefs indicates that the sculptures belonged to the lower part of a false gable—a characteristic feature of the decoration of a stūpa or monastery; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 185, Fig. 72. Along the sides are smaller panels with groups of two worshippers. For similarly shaped reliefs, see Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 189, Fig. 74, and p. 450, Fig. 225.

Group III

- 161 A-F. THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (A and B). THE WHITE DOG AND THE BUDDHA (C). THE BODHISATTVA AND WORSHIPPERS (D). MEASURING THE BUDDHA (E). THE BUDDHA AND HIS MONKS (F). *Lahore*, No. 1139. From Mohammed Nari. H. 3' 9 1/2", w. 12 7/8". Unfortunately, nothing is known about the original position of this relief. The right-hand edge is smooth and undeco-

rated, at the left there is a leaf-and-dart molding, and between the six main panels and this molding are twelve smaller panels decorated with pairs of amorini boxing, wrestling, or merely standing. The main panels portray alternately standing and seated figures: in A-C and E-F, Buddhas; in D a Bodhisattva, probably Siddhārta, flanked by worshippers. The left foot of the Bodhisattva rests on a footstool; his right foot is drawn up to rest on the left knee. One may compare a Bodhisattva Padmapāni in Calcutta who is similarly seated (cf. Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 93-94, No. 290) and the so-called *lalitasana* pose in early Chinese sculpture (see Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, I, pp. CV, CXXXII). The throne of the Buddha in panels B and F is supported by lions' feet (cf., e.g., Nos. 232-33). For the story of panel C, cf. No. 120; for that of panel E, see Nos. 112 and 163, A.

Group III

- 162 A-E. UNIDENTIFIED (A). INVITATION OF SRĪGUPTA (B). INTERVENTION OF ĀNANDA (C). MĀKANDIKA OFFERS HIS DAUGHTER TO THE BUDDHA (D). THE BODHISATTVA AND DONORS (E). *Lahore*, No. 309. From Karamar. H. 34", w. 14 3/8". Each panel here is flanked by Indo-Corinthian pilasters supporting an interrupted architrave and cornice with modillions. On each pilaster two amorini are represented in attitudes similar to those of their counterparts in No. 161. Of the five panels, two, B and C, have already been described as Nos. 100 and 105. The fourth panel, D, has been interpreted by Foucher as the story of Mākandika, a wandering ascetic. Overwhelmed by the personality of the Buddha, Mākandika offered him his beautiful daughter Anupamā, an offer that the Buddha promptly refused. If this interpreta-

tion is correct, we may identify the two on the Buddha's left as Mākandika and his daughter, and the lady on his right perhaps as the mother of Anupamā. The same subject is portrayed on panel No. 165, B. Panels A and E each have a Bodhisattva and not the Buddha as a central figure. Foucher has tentatively identified A with the Exhortation of the Gods to Siddhārta to renounce the world, a scene encountered also in No. 37. However, the nonchalant way in which the person on the Buddha's left is seated is found in none of the other Exhortation reliefs. Foucher interprets panel E as the First Meditation of Siddhārta, the same subject as our No. 36. It does, however, seem preferable to see in this panel the portrayal of some gift to the Bodhisattva, here seated in the European way, but with the feet crossed; see below, No. 285. The way in which the royal person to his right places his hand in a bowl is a clear allusion to a gift just made; see, for example, No. 287. The Bodhisattva represented here and in panel A is probably meant for Siddhārta (see below, under No. 285), and the worshippers or donors might well depict individuals living at the time the relief and the gift were made.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 251, Fig. 434, a-e, and p. 860.

Group III

- 163 A-D. MEASURING THE BUDDHA (A). VISIT OF THE NĀGA APALĀLA (B). ATTACK OF MĀRA (C). CONQUEST OF THE SNAKE AT URUVILVA (D). *Lahore*, Nos. 1155 (A and B) and 1169 (C and D). From Karamar. H. 28 3/4", w. 15 1/2". Framed by pilasters similar to those of No. 162, three of the four panels deal with events illustrated on sculptures already discussed: A, see Nos. 112, 161, E; C, see Nos. 63-66; and D, see Nos. 81, 83-89. B, which is

new, portrays the episode involving the Buddha and the Nāga king, Apalāla, who inhabited the sources of the Swat River. Apalāla used to flood the surrounding regions periodically, until the Buddha came to the rescue of the distressed inhabitants. At his command Vajrapāni smote the mountainsides with his thunderbolt, and the terrified Apalāla hastened to make peace on the Buddha's terms. The Nāga promised to desist from flooding the area annually, but for the sake of his own subsistence he was allowed to inundate the land every twelve years. Apalāla is kneeling before the Buddha, to whom he has come in the guise of a Brahman novice. At the left of Apalāla is his wife, who as a true Nāgi is confined to a tank that conceals the lower part of her body; both have their hands clasped in adoration. At the right the seated Vajrapāni is stripped, as it were, for action, with the thunderbolt in his lifted right hand. Cf. two other replicas: Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 31, Fig. 317 (then at Peshawar), and a relief at Musée Guimet, MA 430, on which Vajrapāni is seen striking the mountains with his thunderbolt.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 505, Fig. 251 (only A-B). Group III

- 164 A-C. OFFERING OF THE MONKEY (A). BULL LICKING THE FEET OF THE BUDDHA (B). THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (C). *Peshawar*, No. 2035. From Jamal Garhi. H. 17", w. 11". The episode portrayed in A we have encountered in No. 115, but the B story is new; see No. 180. The flanking Indo-Corinthian pilasters here too support an interrupted architrave and a cornice of modillions. The pilasters seem to be decorated with floral wreaths; see No. 80.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 95. Group III

- 165 A-C. UNIDENTIFIED (A). THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (B). THE BUDDHA AND RĀHULA (C). *Peshawar*, No. 133. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 23 1/2", w. 13 1/4". The only panel that can be identified with certainty is C, on which the small child permits an identification with Rāhula's visit to the Buddha; cf. a relief in Calcutta: Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 305, Pl. 24, A, and above, No. 93. Panel A may represent the visit of the Buddha to Kapilavastu, in which case the two persons to the left would be his father and his stepmother, Suddhodana and Mahāprajāpatī. Spooner suggests that panel B may depict the story of Ugrasena (see No. 117) but admits that the lack of musical instruments makes it uncertain. More probable is Foucher's identification of the couple on the Buddha's left as Mākandika and his daughter; see No. 162, D. Panel B is topped by a row of acanthi, panel C by what seem to be acanthi alternating with half-rosettes, a combination also found elsewhere in Gandhāra; see below, No. 191.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 40. Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, pp. 110-12, Pl. XXXI, b. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 249, Fig. 433 (B only). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 42, 65. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 49 and 88. Both Hargreaves and Shakur accept the identification of Foucher for B. Group III

- 166 A-E. MĀRA'S ATTACK (A). THE BUDDHA AND HIS MONKS (B). UNIDENTIFIED (C). DĒVADATTA'S HIRELINGS AND THE BUDDHA (D). DEATH OF THE BUDDHA (E). *Peshawar*, No. 1844. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 22 3/8", w. 16 1/2". This and the three following sculptures give a good idea of the so-called "false gables" that decorated stūpas and monasteries; see Nos. 159 and 168. Single worshippers are

here placed in small panels at the sides, while five bigger panels make up the central piece. Of the latter all but C can be identified with certainty. With A one may compare Nos. 63-66 and 163 C, with B Nos. 75-77, with D Nos. 113-14, and with E Nos. 137-41. In this last panel the disciple Mahākāśyapa can be seen at the right, staff in hand, touching the feet of the Buddha as on No. 139. The princely figure to the left who raises his hands in despair is probably one of the Malla nobles; cf. the version in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 71-72, No. 99, Pl. X, b. Panel C will be treated as No. 182.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 104-05, Pl. VI. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 99, Pl. IX.

Group III

- 167 A-D. UNIDENTIFIED (A). DEATH OF THE BUDDHA (B). DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELICS (C). CULT OF THE STŪPA (D). *Peshawar*, No. 1846. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1912-13. H. 17½", w. 17". The death scene in panel B recalls panel E of No. 166, also showing Mahākāśyapa at the foot of the couch and at the head a grieving Malla. Panel C is one of the rare distribution versions that show all eight claimants; see also under No. 152. The four who are shown in full view are dressed in the Parthian-Scythian riding caftan and trousers. The stūpa in panel D is worshipped both by monks on the right and by laics on the left, and presents on its lower circular part a false gable similar in shape to the whole sculpture on which it is carved. At either side of the stūpa is a column topped by what looks like a lion. These columns were probably free-standing, like those in front of the cave temple at Karli; see Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 71-72, Pl. 29, A, and below, No. 257, top section. Panel A, which illustrates the same story as

No. 166, C, will be treated as No. 181.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 46, 104-05. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 53, 101.

Group III (IV)

- 168 A-D. THE ALMS BOWL (A). VISIT OF INDRA (B). THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (C). THE GREAT DEPARTURE (D). *Labore*, No. 1238. H. 28½", w. 16½". This relief presents an excellent example of a complete false gable, similar to the one portrayed in miniature on the circular drum of the stūpa on No. 167, D. The alms bowl that figures at the top of this false gable is often found as an object of worship on bases of Buddha statues; cf., e.g., Nos. 201 and 230. In panel B the Indra Visit is a good example of the second class, the simpler version (cf. No. 132), in which the cave is centered and only a few figures are portrayed at the sides, Indra here being at the right, the harpist at the left. The frontal view of Siddhārta in the Departure scene (D) recalls No. 40. The groom Chandaka holds the royal umbrella over the mounted prince while a *yaksha* supports the forefeet of the horse Kanthaka, so that no noise will waken the guards or the inhabitants of Kapilavastu. To the right of the Buddha stands Māra, bow in hand, powerless to stop the fateful flight. For another version of the same scene with similar, frontal Siddhārta, see Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, No. 31. As to the cult of the alms bowl (A), see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 419-20.

Group III

- 169 A-D. THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (A-D). *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. From Charsadda. H. 21⅜", w. 15¼". In all four main panels worshippers flank the Buddha, who in A and C is standing, his right hand in the reassuring pose, but in B and D is seated, in B in the reassur-

ing attitude, in D in the pose of meditation with both hands covered. On each side of the principal panels B-D are four smaller ones; in the two topmost are two kneeling worshippers, in each of the remaining six the Buddha in meditation with hands covered, seated on an inverted-lotus throne.

Group III

Unidentified

- 170 UNIDENTIFIED. *Lahore*, No. 119. H. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 15". The six sculptures that follow all seem to refer to some *jātaka* or other, but so far it has not been possible to identify them. On this relief a monk is standing with his arms tied behind his back to a wooden board, his right leg evidently being tortured by a man crouching behind him; a prince at the extreme left seems to be throwing stones at him, while at the far right two princes kneel down before the prisoner, their hands clasped. The parents of Prince Dighava had their arms tied in a similar manner on a relief published by Vogel, *Annual Bibliography of Buddhist Literature* 1930, Leiden, 1932, p. 5, Pl. I, b. Burgess, *AMI*, p. 11, Pl. 129, 1.

Group III

- 171 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1720. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound D. H. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. 20". At the left an ascetic can be seen seated inside his hut; at the right two animals, a deer and a ram, stand in a forest which seems to be separated from the scene with the ascetic by a wall of flames.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 100. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 89.

Group II or III

- 172 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1713. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound C. H. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $24\frac{1}{2}$ ". At the left an ascetic sits in his hut talking to a man dressed in a

knee-length tunic. Farther to the right the same man seems to be attacked by or training with professional athletes.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 6, 2d row right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 100. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 89.

Group II or III

- 173 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1712. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound C. H. 5", w. $10\frac{3}{4}$ ". At the right two men sit on the ground in wooded surroundings, eating from a bowl while a dog watches them patiently. On the other side of the dog a man seems to be pulling a rope, perhaps for water from a well.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 105, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 5, 2d row right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 100. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 90.

Group III

- 174 UNIDENTIFIED. *Lahore*, No. 1355. H. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ". In the panel at the left two archers are shooting from a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two horses with their front legs raised high in the air. The archer at the left is shooting over the heads of the horses; the other seems to be aiming at a winged griffin, standing on its hind legs behind the chariot. In the center of the right-hand panel a young man is portrayed with a bow in his right hand. He looks to the right, toward a man who is holding a bowl of fruit (?). On the other side stands a man with a spherical object in his hands, possibly another offering.

Group II or III

- 175 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, no number. From Jamal Garhi. H. $7\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. 22". This relief may have to do with the making of wine. At the right a royal person is seated on a throne under a flat-topped canopy and flanked by two attendants. He holds a spear in his left hand, and his right

hand is raised like that of the Buddha in the reassuring pose. However, the way in which this person is portrayed with spear in hand recalls the genius of riches, Panchika, rather than a king; cf. Nos. 338-39, and Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 147-52. In the center two men are standing inside a low tank, grasping a pole with which to crush grapes. Through a spout on the side of the tank the juice flows into a low bowl, while a man standing at the left of the press seems to hold a fresh supply of grapes in his hands. From a bag suspended from a tripod filtered juice drips into a tall wine jug standing on the ground. At the extreme left two men stand behind a third who is half reclining on the ground, probably overcome by partaking too liberally of the new wine. For another Dionysiac scene, see No. 397. For a similar tripod with bag and container, see No. 138.

Group II or III

- 176 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1717. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound C. H. 5 3/8", w. 12". In a woodland setting an attendant waits on a princely person, seated at the right; between them a fire seems to be burning.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 105, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 7, 2d row right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 100. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 90.

Group II or III

- 177 UNIDENTIFIED. *Lahore*, No. 1182 (detail). H. 6 1/2". A single Indo-Corinthian pilaster at the right supports an interrupted architrave and modillion cornice. Its counterpart on the left is missing; it was also no doubt decorated by a standing amorino, as in No. 162. The Buddha is seated in the center, his feet crossed on the throne like those of the Bodhisattva on No. 162, E. He looks to the right, toward a man and a woman, standing with hands clasped

in adoration. This scene is witnessed by a monk with a fly whisk and a lady in royal costume, standing at the left. Peculiar features are two small human heads peering out at each side of the Buddha on a level with his elbows and, especially, the two larger figures in the background, the one at the left certainly a Buddha. From the same sculpture comes our No. 91.

Group III

- 178 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1369. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 8 1/4", w. 22 1/8". In the center an emaciated figure appears to be walking on the waves of a river that flows through a wooded region. At the left are three men, two apparently looking at something in the distance, the third arguing a point, whereas the three men at the right, one kneeling, two standing, seem eagerly to await the outcome of the dangerous aquatic experiment. Perhaps the panel illustrates the story of the Buddha's walking on the waters of the Nairanganā River; cf. for example at Sanchi: Irwin, in *Indian Art*, 1948, p. 75, Fig. 7, text p. 76. On the Indo-Corinthian pilaster at the left, the Buddha is seated in the pose of meditation, his hands covered.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 53-54, Pl. XVIII, b. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 94. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 310, and n. 58 on p. 318 (comments on the Buddha figure on the pilaster). Shakur, *Guide*, p. 89.

Group III

- 179 UNIDENTIFIED. *Lahore*, No. 2165. From Sikri. H. 5 1/4", w. 6 3/4". This relief, like No. 29, no doubt likewise represents a tug-of-war, probably an episode from the athletic contests of Siddhārtha with the rival suitors.

Group II or III

- 180 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 2035 (detail). From Jamal Garhi. H. 7". An Indo-Corinthian pilaster on the left carries

an interrupted architrave and modillion cornice. A humped bull kneels before the Buddha, licking his feet, the head-rope held loosely by its master. This bull may be that of the Hindu god Siva, in which case the scene expresses the superiority of the Buddha also over this god; see a relief from Taxila: Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 723, No. 151. The pilaster at the right seems to be decorated with a garland, untied as on No. 80. Our sculpture forms panel B of No. 164. Paired, parallel lines indicate the drapery folds of the Buddha.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 95. Group III

- 181 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1846 (detail). From Takht-i-Bahai, 1912-13. H. 6". The Buddha is flanked at the left by two monks, at the right by two men turned toward him and a man kneeling in the foreground in an attitude of despair. On either side is a panel of a quarter-circle, bordered by half-acanthi on its circumference; cf. No. 88. Within, a princely person kneels in worship before a meditating Buddha with covered hands. This sculpture forms section A of No. 167.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 105. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 101. Group III

- 182 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 1844 (detail). From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 4½". Undoubtedly this panel illustrates the same episode as No. 181, but in greater detail. The two men at the right of the Buddha are here clearly dressed in princely costume. The first one is kneeling; the second stands, holding a rectangular object in his hands. On the extreme right a woman can be seen emerging from the door of a house. This sculpture forms panel C of No. 166.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 104. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 99. Group III

- 183 UNIDENTIFIED. *Peshawar*, No. 420. H. 5½", w. 16". In the panel at the right two men in princely costume scatter flowers on the Buddha, who stands in the reassuring pose. An Indo-Corinthian pilaster divides this panel from the next. Here a Brahman ascetic is seated in his hut on the left. Two elephants approach him; the first eats from his hand, and the second raises his trunk high in the air, as he passes another hut.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 78.

Group III

- 184 UNIDENTIFIED. *Lahore*, No. 1277 (detail). H. 8". In the center of this panel stands the Buddha, his right hand in the reassuring pose, his left hand holding the alms bowl. On the right two bravi, one standing, one kneeling, perhaps represent the assassins hired by Dēvadatta (cf. Nos. 113-14), who repented under the miraculous influence of the Buddha. At the extreme right is a woman with a waterpot in one hand, a palm branch in the other as on the birth panel No. 14. This sculpture forms panel A of No. 159. Group III

*The Buddha with Monks,
Worshippers, and Donors*

- 185 WORSHIPPERS. *Taxila*, No. 558. From Kālawān. H. 5⅞", w. 4¼". On this fragmentary frieze two male figures face one another, each holding a garland in the right hand; cf. Nos. 180 and 181. The *ushnishas* on their heads suggest that both are Bodhisattvas. This is perhaps the sculpture briefly referred to by Marshall: *Taxila*, I, p. 328. Group III

- 186 THE BUDDHA AND DONORS. *Lahore*, No. 1054. From Peshawar Valley. H. 7¼", w. 5¼". The Buddha stands

against the border at the right, his hand in the reassuring pose. On the left a man in princely costume offers him a bowl while a prince or *dēva* above and between them is about to scatter flowers over the Buddha. Perhaps the scene illustrates the story of Nanda, the Buddha's stepbrother who was tricked into leaving house and bride by being given the Buddha's alms bowl to carry; cf. No. 94. Our fragment undoubtedly comes from the same workshop as No. 111.

Group III

- 187 THE BUDDHA AND DONOR. *Lahore*, No. 2360. H. $10\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. $12\frac{3}{4}$ ". At the right the seated Buddha raises his right hand in the reassuring attitude. The stone seat, decorated by squares with intersecting diagonals and wedge-shaped indentations in the resulting triangles (cf. Nos. 57, A, 197), is further embellished by three rosettes. At the left is seated a king with hands clasped, his attendant holding the royal umbrella and the waterpot for the ritual of giving; see No. 6. Between the king and the Buddha is Vajrapāṇi, the thunderbolt in his right hand. The folds in the servant's undergarment show clearly the use of paired, parallel lines. On the base a zigzag band weaves between a series of half-rosettes; see No. 191, a relief in Berlin: Foucher, *BBA*, Pl. XXVI, 2, and a relief in Calcutta: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 423, Fig. 213, and Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 44, No. 41. The rosettes on the Buddha's seat identify it with the "diamond throne," the seat of the Enlightenment; see No. 68. Our relief may therefore portray an event closely connected with the Illumination of the Buddha, perhaps the visit of Bimbisāra, King of Rājagriha. When Siddhārtha on his flight from Kapilavastu had reached that city, Bimbisāra visited him, offered him wealth, and, when refused, expressed the wish that he be admitted as a disciple after

the Enlightenment. On the other hand, the Bimbisāra visit is rather remote in time from the Enlightenment, and on the relief in Calcutta supposed to represent the royal visit no rosettes appear on the throne. Probably our relief portrays a visit to the Buddha by some now unidentifiable king. In this case the rosettes on the throne must be purely decorative, as on No. 127, and as on the relief representing the ordination of Nanda; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 467, Fig. 236.

Group IV

- 188 THE BUDDHA WITH DONORS. *Peshawar*, No. 1847. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1912-13. H. $20\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $23\frac{1}{2}$ ". From the top of a false gable similar to No. 168, this relief presents in the upper frieze a Buddha in meditation, hands covered, worshipped at either side by three princes and an ichthyocentaur; see Nos. 388-89. In the main panel the Buddha stands under a floral canopy in the reassuring attitude. Vajrapāṇi and a monk are at the left, and at the right are two worshippers, the nearest a man, tossing flowers before him, and next to him a woman with hands clasped. Hargreaves calls it: Scene of adoration by nameless worshippers. Some of the folds on the *sanghāti* of the Buddha have been indicated by paired, parallel lines.
- Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 105. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 101 (inventory number here by mistake given as 1877).

Group IV

- 189 THE BUDDHA WITH FEMALE WORSHIPPERS. *Karachi*, No. 320. From Taxila, Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $19\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $17\frac{3}{4}$ ". The Buddha is seated in the reassuring pose on a wooden throne. He is therefore undoubtedly a guest in the house of the female worshippers grouped around him. At the left stands a young woman with two children and behind her a bearded Vajrapāṇi with unusually large

thunderbolt. At the right are four women, two older ones in front and two younger ones behind, all portrayed with sympathetic realism in features and painstaking accuracy in costume and jewelry. The girl next to the Buddha has her hands clasped in adoration; the others carry small gifts. The mother on the left carries a floral spray. All three women in the front row have veils over their heads, whereas the two younger women at the right wear diadems; the former headdress perhaps indicates the married, the latter the unmarried state. Along the base is a stylized stalk design as on No. 75 and probably also on a relief in the Louvre; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 350, Fig. 178.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 16, No. 4, Pl. VIII, d. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, pp. 22, 28-29 and Fig. 13 (A.D. 100-150). Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 392, Fig. 9. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 15-16. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1949, p. 227 (2d century A.D.). Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 102, 110-11, Pl. IV, Fig. 6. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, Bombay, 1951, pp. 82, 85 and Fig. 50. Hargreaves, *Taxila*, II, p. 718, No. 121. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 221, No. 121. Deydier, *Oriental Art*, II, 1949-50, pp. 111-15, Fig. 4 on p. 113. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 311-12, Pl. 31, A (pre-Roman phase). Bussagli, *Archeologia Classica*, V, 1953, p. 74, Pl. XXXII, 1. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 132 (A.D. 100-130). Group III

- 190 THE BUDDHA, FEMALE WORSHIPPERS, AND MONKS. *Labore*, No. 1068. From Upper Nathu Monastery. H. $9\frac{1}{16}$ ", w. $10\frac{1}{8}$ ". Under an arboreal canopy the Buddha is seated on a wooden throne, his right hand in the reassuring attitude. He is no doubt the guest of the two women standing at the left with clasped hands. The four monks on the

right are seated in the attitude of meditation, their hands covered, their robes variously arranged. In the background at the left of the Buddha stands Vajrapāni, and next to him can be seen a female attendant, with a fly whisk, indicating the high rank of the two worshipping ladies.

Group III

- 191 THE BUDDHA WITH WORSHIPPERS AND MONKS. *Peshawar*, No. 1371. Detail. H. 13". From Sahri Bahlol, 1910. This panel comes from the same multiple relief as No. 119. The Buddha rests under an arboreal canopy in the reassuring pose. Four monks are seen at the right and at the left three women, with hands clasped. The drapery folds of the Buddha and of the monks are rather flat and edged by incised lines; see Nos. 225-26. The whole top is crowned by a border of alternating acanthus leaves and half-rosettes; see No. 165.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 52, Pl. XVI, d (less complete to the left than the relief in its present condition). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 94. Group III

- 192 VAJRAPĀNI AND WORSHIPPERS. *Taxila*, No. 412. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $9\frac{3}{4}$ ". On this fragmentary panel one sees leaves from the Buddha's arboreal canopy. Beneath them stand Vajrapāni and to the left of him two men whose dress covers only the lower parts of their bodies. The first has his hands clasped in adoration; the second seems to have his tied behind his back. Group III

- 193 THE BUDDHA WITH WORSHIPPERS. *Peshawar*, No. W. U. 2152. From Jamal Garhi. H. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ". Flanked at the left by an Indo-Corinthian pilaster supporting an interrupted architrave, the

Buddha is seated in the reassuring pose on a wooden throne with leonine feet. Nearest the Buddha on the right stands a man with hands clasped, and beyond him are two women, one seen in three-quarter rear view resting her hand on a container held by the other. Two men at the left, each with *ushnisha*, likewise seem to carry gifts.

Group III

- 194 A-B. THE BUDDHA WITH WORSHIPPERS AND MONKS (A). VAJRAPĀNI AND WORSHIPPERS (B). *Lahore*, No. 553. H. 17 1/2", w. 14". In the top panel at the right the Buddha, on a wooden throne, raises his right hand in the reassuring attitude. At the left stands a young Brahman novice, a waterpot in his

left hand; beyond him two monks are seated in the attitude of meditation, their hands covered. In the upper background three men have been portrayed: at the far left a flower-scattering Brahmanic novice, next to him two princes with clasped hands. No doubt a similar number of worshippers were on the other side of the Buddha, on the part of the relief now missing. Of the three heads preserved on panel B, the second from the left is that of a prince, and that on the right is the head of Vajrapāni. The facial type of the latter resembles that of Heracles, whereas the manner of indicating the hair and beard by incised lines recalls Roman portrait heads of such emperors as Gordianus and Philip-pus Arabus.

Group III

THE BUDDHA AND THE BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA

This section includes first the standing Buddhas, Nos. 195–228; then the seated Buddhas, Nos. 229–63, and the Buddha heads, Nos. 264–75; and finally the sculptures of Bodhisattva Siddhārta, arranged in the same three categories, Nos. 276–87.

195 THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 584. From Jauliān, Chapel E2. H. 20¼", w. 6¾". Both hands of this Buddha are now lost, but to judge from the position of the arms and the many statues and reliefs on which the hands are preserved, the right hand was in the reassuring pose, the left hand holding an edge of the robe; see Nos. 208–10 and 213–14. The robe of the standing Buddha is characterized by two series of folds, the one falling from the left shoulder and covering the chest, the other starting from the inner side of the right elbow and covering the lower part of the body. The folds here are broad and rather deeply undercut. For the costume of the Buddha, see Introduction, p. 19. The base has chamfered corners, and the front is decorated by a row of eglantines; cf. No. 65.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 724, No. 157. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 225, No. 157.

Group III

196 THE BUDDHA. *Gai Collection*, *Peshawar*. H. 25½", w. 6½". On the rather flat *ushnisha* the locks are arranged in two rows of separate curls. The drapery folds across the chest look like opened accordion pleats. This effect is due, not to incised creases in the hollows, but to the introduction of narrow ridges between the main folds. The left leg can be seen clearly through both over- and undergarment. The front of the base is decorated by a stylized honeysuckle; the chamfered cor-

ners are bisected horizontally, and in each rectangle crossed diagonals enclose triangular depressions; see No. 187. Around the top is a saw-tooth decoration.

Group III

197 THE BUDDHA. *Labore*, No. 2051. From Sikri. H. 3' 3⅞", w. 11⅞". The draping of the robe is rendered by the same alternating of wider and narrower ridges as in No. 196. Below a single acanthus molding the base has a purely geometric decoration. Four squares, placed side by side, are each divided into eight triangles, enclosing wedge-shaped points. Cf. the base of a seated Buddha in Berlin, photograph marked I.C. 33, 381, and above, No. 187.

Group III

198 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1430. H. 4' 8". From near Amankot in the district of Mardan. The *ushnisha* here, too, is low, as on No. 196, the individual curls arranged in three rows. At the center of the forehead the hair comes to a widow's peak from which it waves back on either side; see Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 117, text Fig. 9. The *urna* in the middle of the forehead was once indicated by a crystal, now lost. The draping of the robe differs in two important respects from that of the previous statues. It lacks the triangular folds over the right breast (see Introduction, pp. 32 f.), and the thin ridges between the main folds are

omitted. Clinging drapery covers the left leg. Around the top of the base is an acanthus molding. The sides are decorated with honeysuckle, and on each of the chamfered corners a worshipper with clasped hands is portrayed. The front panel shows the Buddha's alms bowl in the center, with two worshippers on either side of it; cf. above, No. 168, A.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 8, 17, note 1, and p. 52; Pl. 9, a. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 8, 20, note 1, and p. 59; Pl. XII, a.

Group III

- 200 THE BUDDHA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 24", w. 8½". Around the edge of the halo is a single stem with leaves, a floral ornament already encountered several times; cf. Nos. 75, 169, 189, and 194. A Buddha in Calcutta, standing on a lotus throne, has a similarly decorated halo: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 85, No. 337, as also below, No. 206. The drapery on the right shoulder recalls that of No. 199, but there is the same alternation of wider and narrower ridges as on No. 196.

Group III

- 201 THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 1227. From Karamar Hill. H. 3' 7" to top of urna, w. 11¾". The hair of the Buddha below the *ushnisha* is here indicated by formal rows of small, tight curls. The folds of the robe recall those of No. 200. The base is flanked on either side by an Indo-Corinthian pilaster and has an acanthus molding along the top. The alms bowl of the Buddha in the center is worshipped by three men on either side, all with clasped hands; see No. 199.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 279, Pl. II (frontispiece). Bussagli, *Archeologia Classica*, V, 1953, p. 74, Pl. XXXI, 4 (bust only).

Group III

- 202 THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 948. From Jamal Garhi. H. 5' 3". This statue is of unusually fine workmanship, the modelling of the head being exceptionally good. The *ushnisha* is rather high, and the wavy lines indicating the hair below it radiate from the widow's peak. The draping of the robe is a very clear example of the alternating wider and narrower ridges first noted on No. 196. The shape of the body, especially the left leg, shows clearly under the drapery.

Group III

- 203 THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 1074. From the Peshawar Valley. H. 8½". Here, too, the left knee shows under the robe, but its folds show little of the alternation in size so characteristic of Nos. 196 and 202.

Group III

- 204 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1878.
-05 From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 3' 4½", w. 11". The alternation of folds in the drapery recalls No. 202. Here, however, the weight of the body rests on the left leg, and the right leg, bent and relaxed, is seen under the robe. The hair is indicated by snail-shell curls; see Introduction, p. 31.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 75.

Group III

- 206 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1424. From village near Daulat, Mardan district. H. 4' 1½", w. 12". The halo is decorated with a foliate band; cf. No. 200. The *ushnisha* is rather flat, recalling that of No. 196. The drapery folds are mostly stringy and outline the inner sides of both legs under the robe. Between the feet is a cavity for receiving offerings of coins. At the top of the base is a saw-tooth molding supported by a row of modillions. Below, eglantines decorate the sides, and on the front a Buddha in the pose of meditation is worshipped by two standing figures at

- the left and three at the right, all with clasped hands. Also from Daulat is No. 215.
Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 52, 53, 99.
Shakur, *Guide*, p. 59. Group III
- 207 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1970. From hamlet of Mamāne Dherī, Charsadda district. H. 3' 1", w. 16 1/4". From the same place as the Indra Visit relief, No. 131, comes this Buddha whose rather clinging drapery with stringy folds recalls the style of No. 206.
Shakur, *Guide*, p. 56. Group III
- 208 THE BUDDHA. *Labore*, No. 1999. H. 4' 1 1/4". The grooves at top and bottom of the broken right forearm show that the hand was originally carved from a separate block of stone. The halo is rather large; the drapery folds on the chest are like those of No. 202. Group III
- 209 THE BUDDHA. *Labore*, No. 1774. H. 3' 9", w. 11 3/4". In style this statue recalls Nos. 206-08. It differs, however, from the preceding examples by showing the Buddha with a slight mustache. The folds of drapery on the left arm probably go back to a prototype from the late second century A.D.; see my *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, Introduction. Three five-petalled eglantines decorate the base; cf. No. 195. Group III
- 210 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1446. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 8' 8", w. 3' 2". Because of its excellent state of preservation and its exceptional workmanship this statue ranks among the best of the Buddha images that have survived. It is the tallest statue known from Gandhāra and one of the few whose right hand has been preserved. It was originally covered with gold, and its radiance, colossal size, and powerful air of benignity and concentration must have made a deep impression on the faithful. The well-preserved hands show traces of so-called webbing, a technical device to strengthen the fingers. See Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 306-12, and Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 49, n. 2. As on No. 198, a hemispherical depression in the forehead marks the place of the *urna* and was once set with a precious stone. The style of the drapery is reminiscent of the preceding statue, but the manner in which the folds terminate at the waist suggests that the robe here is conceived to be of a lighter, more clinging material that naturally more clearly reveals the contours of the body. The folds of the robe over the left arm recall those on No. 209. Our figure differs from the foregoing in the huge halo and in the arrangement of the hair. The forehead line is almost straight, but from a small widow's peak the hair curves out and back, making the almond-shaped form characteristic of many Buddha heads; see No. 7. This Buddha, like the one of No. 209, wears a small mustache.
Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 56, Pl. XXII, b. Foucher, *BBA*, Pl. XIII, 2. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 49-52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 56. Group III
- 211 THE BUDDHA. *Labore*, No. 527. From Shah-ji-ki-Dherī (?). H. 23", w. 6 1/2". One would expect the great majority of the Buddhas to be dressed in Indian costume (see No. 206), but a few do wear the himation, the current male costume in the Greek East. This statuette is the only sculpture in the round thus clad, but the himation also occurs on reliefs, for example, in the representations of the "Seven Buddhas of the Past"; see No. 135. The almost semicircular folds over the left arm are exactly like those encountered at Palmyra from about A.D. 180 on; see above

under No. 209. As in No. 207, the weight of the body is on the left foot, and the right leg is visible through the drapery. The only decoration on the base is a shallow groove near the top of the front and the sides.

Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 135-36, Pl. XVI, 2 right. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 777, Fig. 594. Buchthal, *TOCS*, 19, 1942-43, p. 27, n. 31 on p. 32, Pl. 6, a. Group III

- 212 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 239. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 5' 6", w. 22". In drapery and stance this colossal statue resembles No. 210 and has similar semi-circular folds on the left arm. The hair, however, is rendered by much wavier lines, zigzagging back symmetrically from the sides.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 117, Pl. XXXIV, b. Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 31. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 49, 50. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 56. Group III

- 213 THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 2. Probably from Takht-i-Bahai. H. 7½". In drapery and stance this colossal statue, too, is reminiscent of Nos. 210 and 212, but the hair arrangement is different. Individual locks in the shape of snail-shell curls are like those of Nos. 204-05, but smaller and more compact. Group III

- 214 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1447. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 7', w. 2' 9". Although slightly smaller, this colossal statue is similar to No. 210 in drapery, stance, hair style, and mustache and was likewise originally covered with gold leaf. Also as in No. 210, the *urna* was here marked by a precious stone, now lost. The pupil of the eye is indicated by a circle, a feature very rare in Gandhāra; cf., however, the Bodhisattva head published by Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 20, Pl. IX, b,

and Nos. 273, 283, and 337. Two grooves on the right forearm, as on Nos. 204 and 205, indicate that the hand was attached separately. The fingers of the left hand show "webbing."

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 56, Pl. XXII, c. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 49, 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 56. Group III

- 215 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1425. From site near Daulat, Mardan district. H. 3' 9½", w. 10¾". The rather flat *ushnisha*, the height, stance, and drapery as well as a cavity for offerings between the feet are reminiscent of No. 206, which came from the same ancient site near Daulat. The hair below the *ushnisha* is drawn back in the same regular tightly waving strands as in Nos. 198 and 202. Three open lotus flowers decorate the base; similar ones are found on statue bases in the Kevorkian Collection in New York and one in the University Museum of Philadelphia.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 59. Group III

- 216 THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 120. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 37". Like the Buddha of Nos. 209, 210, and 214, this one has a small mustache; the shape of the hair-line on the forehead, the style of the folds, and the stance are also similar. The left leg is clearly visible through the drapery.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 11, No. 3, Pl. VIII, a. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 724, No. 158. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 225, No. 158. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 132-33 (A.D. 100-130).

Group III

- 217 THE BUDDHA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 26", w. 6½". A rather high *ushnisha* distinguishes this statuette, which, like No. 213, has a marked widow's peak

on the forehead. The drapery folds on the left arm, reminiscent of those in vogue at Palmyra in the third century A.D. (see my *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, Introduction), are rather more naturalistic than is usually the case. The left leg can easily be seen through the drapery. The grooved base is like that on No. 211.

Group III

- 219 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1569. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound C. H. 29¼", w. 17½". This Buddha differs from the preceding ones in having the head turned to the right, and the right hand held against the left breast. In this position the right hand draws up the robe, disclosing the *dhōṭī*. The rippling folds of this garment recall those worn by the Bodhisattvas; see, e.g., Nos. 294 and 295. The hair is arranged in snail-shell curls, as in No. 204.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 99. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 92. Group III

- 220 LEFT HAND OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 243. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 21", w. 10". This extremely well-preserved left hand must have come from a statue like No. 210, on which a fold of drapery is held in similar way in the left hand.

Group III or II

- 221 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1164. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1908. H. 4' 7¼". The halo is quite large, the *ushnīsha* rather high, the drapery more clinging than in any of the preceding statues. The drapery is stringy, as in Nos. 210 and 214, and is smoothed over the abdomen. Here, too, the left knee is apparent through the cloth. Found together with No. 222. Forked folds occur on the *sanghātī*; cf. No. 106.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 49. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 59. Group III

- 222 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1163. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 3' 6", w. 17". Since this smaller statue was found together with No. 221, it is not surprising that the drapery shows similar treatment. Here, too, the halo is quite large, but the *ushnīsha* is smaller. The right hand holds the alms bowl; cf. a relief in Boston Museum of Fine Arts: Coomaraswamy, *BMFAB*, XXIII, 1925, p. 73, Fig. 1.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 147, Pl. XLVIII, d (considers the statue among the oldest, being nearest to a Hellenistic prototype). Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 30. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, pp. 81-82, II, Pl. 146, right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 49. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, p. 226, n. 16 (first half of 2d century A.D.). Shakur, *Guide*, p. 59. Group III

- 223 THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 240. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 3' 2½", w. 22¼". It is regrettable that this statue, originally about seven feet high, is so fragmentary. It shows the same stringy folds, clinging drapery, and wavy hair as seen in No. 202. The eyebrows and eyelids are very sharply drawn, and the strong and concentrated expression is excellently rendered.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 31. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 50. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 71.

Group III

- 224 BUDDHAS WITH WORSHIPPERS. AMORINI. *Lahore*, Nos. 2306, 2058, 2059. From Sikri. H. 19¼". On this fragmentary relief five standing Buddhas are portrayed, and there were undoubtedly two more as well as a Maitreya; cf. above, No. 135. Obviously, the sculptor made a serious attempt to vary the pose of the Buddhas, but he was greatly handicapped by the fact that all right hands had to be in

the reassuring pose. He has cleverly managed, however, to vary the position of the left hand as well as the direction of the drapery folds, and the choice of the supporting leg. Behind the Buddhas is a dorsal from behind which *dēvas* scatter flowers. In the background between the Buddhas divinities appear; among these one can recognize a bearded Vajrapāni at the right. In the foreground small worshippers are to be seen, standing or kneeling between the Buddhas. The base is decorated by a frieze of amorini, bearing a festoon; cf. Nos. 374-80.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 259, Fig. 136 (fragment 2306 not included). Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 109, n. 108 (early period of Gandhāran sculpture). Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 306, Pl. 28, A.

Group III

- 225 THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 2367. H. 21", w. 5 1/4". For once, both hands are preserved. The halo, as in No. 206, is decorated, but here a row of triangles replaces the foliate band of the other halo. The drapery is also treated in a different manner. Instead of stringy folds, one finds here rather broad, flat surfaces bordered by incised lines, as on No. 191. The base shows one five-petalled eglantine; cf. No. 195.

Group III

- 226 BUDDHA SEATED EUROPEAN STYLE. *Taxila*, No. 275. From Dhamarājikā, alongside Stūpa P 8. H. 10 3/4". This headless high relief, similar in style to No. 225, shows the Buddha seated in the European manner. His right foot rests on a footstool and is therefore raised slightly higher than the left. Below his feet a border of stylized leaves recalls that of Nos. 66 and 88.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 726, No. 183.

Group III

- 227 THREE BUDDHAS STANDING, ONE SEATED ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Lahore*, No. 1645. H. 8 1/4", w. 16". On this fragment only the central standing Buddha has his right hand in the reassuring pose. The Buddha at the left has his right arm almost straight at his side, covered by his robe, and the one to the right is in the "himation pose" known from No. 211. The seated Buddha is in the attitude of meditation on the inverted-lotus throne; see below, under No. 262. The treatment of the drapery on the chest of the second Buddha from the left recalls that of Nos. 225 and 226, but elsewhere we find extensive use of paired, parallel lines to indicate the folds. The hair styles also vary: the seated Buddha and the second standing Buddha show developed snail-shell curls (see No. 213), the hair of the third recalls the almond-shaped locks of No. 210, and that of the first is more like No. 197. Originally the seven Buddhas and Maitreya were no doubt represented; see No. 135.

Group IV

- 228 TWO BUDDHAS. *Peshawar*, No. W. U. 1927. H. 10 3/8", w. 17". Here two standing Buddhas are separated by floral stalks. The folds of their robes are indicated by paired, parallel lines. The Buddha at the left has his right arm covered in the "himation pose"; see No. 227. As in No. 227, the seven "augmented" Buddhas were undoubtedly portrayed.

Group IV

- 229 THE BUDDHA IN THE ATTITUDE OF REASSURANCE. *Lahore*, No. 1180. From Karamar. H. 14", w. 10". The *ushnisha* of this seated Buddha is very low, and his eyes are slightly more open than is usually the case. The left hand holds an edge of the drapery, and the right is in the reassuring pose. The robe is lifted by the movement of the right hand, revealing

the characteristic curving folds of the undergarment over the right knee; see Introduction, pp. 31, 35. Group III

- 230 A-B. ALMS BOWL (A). THE BUDDHA AND WORSHIPPERS (B). *Lahore*, No. 102. H. 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 10". Both panels are framed by Indo-Corinthian pilasters with interrupted architraves. In the upper panel is the alms bowl, placed on a low throne under a flat-topped canopy; cf. No. 201. In the lower panel the Buddha is seated in the reassuring pose, a worshipper with clasped hands at either side.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 12, Pl. 139, 1.

Group III

- 231 THE REASSURING BUDDHA FLANKED BY TWO YAKSHAS. *Taxila*, No. 554. From Jauliān, Room 2. H. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". On either side of the Buddha, who is seated under an arboreal canopy, is a *yaksha*-amorino, hands clasped, naked save for necklace and arm-let.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 728, No. 197. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 226, No. 197.

Group III

- 232 THE BUDDHA IN THE ATTITUDE OF MEDITATION. *Lahore*, No. 2370. H. 16", w. 9". In striking contrast to No. 229, this Buddha has a very large halo, and his eyelids are more than half closed. The folds are stringy, with a planned alternation of high and low ridges. The Buddha is seated on a cushion bordered by a wavy line on a throne supported by lion's feet. On the base two kneeling men worship at a fire altar, as do worshippers on the bases of two other seated Buddhas, one in meditation from Sahri Bahlol (see Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2 left), the other—which I know from a dealer's

photograph—in the attitude of preaching, the drapery of the Buddha here indicated by paired, parallel lines. For bases with similar representations see Nos. 52 and 284 (Siddhārta) and No. 302 (Maitreya), and for the meaning of the fire altar, cf. Introduction, p. 36. This Buddha represents the second main attitude of seated Buddhas, that of meditation; see Introduction, p. 29. For the meaning of the half-closed eyes, see the text to the Buddha head, frontispiece. Group III

- 233 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1789. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C, 1912. H. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 18". The snail-shell curls of this Buddha are very carefully rendered. A beaded cord decorates the cushion; the throne is again supported by lion's feet, as on No. 232. On the base two worshippers with clasped hands are seen on either side of a Bodhisattva seated in the attitude of meditation.

Stella Kramrisch, in Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, VI, Leipzig, 1929, p. 264, Fig. 265. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 92.

Group III

- 234 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1928. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1908. H. 27", w. 18". This Buddha has a very large halo, like No. 232, and the rendering of the drapery is also similar. But instead of a cushion, he is here seated on grass, no doubt referring to the scene of the Enlightenment. In the facial expression the sculptor has most successfully portrayed the depth of the Buddha's concentration and his resulting peace of mind. On the base in the center are three seated Buddhas in meditation, their hands covered. To the left of the three is a Bodhisattva in the reassuring pose, to their right another in the preaching attitude. Facing the Bodhisattvas at each corner is a kneeling

worshipper. Floral stalks like those on No. 228 divide the five principal figures. The three Buddhas and the two Bodhisattvas may represent an abbreviated version of the five Dhyāna Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; see the Introduction, p. 20, and No. 120.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 102. Group III

- 235 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, Nos. 1008 (head), 1160 (torso). From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 33", w. 10¾". This Buddha of fine workmanship is apparently also represented on a grassy seat. On most Buddhas there is a marked division between the hair of the *ushnisha* and the hair of the rest of the head, but here the locks of wavy hair are drawn directly from the forehead up over the entire skull. The drapery folds over the left arm recall those of No. 212. The remaining folds are stringy, with slight variation in size. On the base, both the Buddha and the Bodhisattva are again represented, the former to the right in the reassuring attitude, the latter to the left in the same pose. The Buddha is flanked by five standing worshippers, apparently all male, with clasped hands, one to the right, four to the left, the latter diminishing in height to conform with the reduced space imposed by the overhanging robe of the main Buddha. The Bodhisattva is receiving the homage of a kneeling figure on the right, and of four female worshippers advancing from the left, the first two with clasped hands, the last two evidently bearing gifts. Even on the back of this relief a number of miniature Buddhas have been incised; judging by their crude character, they were probably made by some apprentice in an idle moment (Spooner).

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, pp. 146-47, Fig. 7. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 75, 102. Group III

- 236 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1436. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1908. H. 35¼", w. 19¼". In contrast, this Buddha has a rather high *ushnisha*, and above the center of the forehead are the same characteristic, almond-shaped locks as those seen on No. 210. The drapery folds are rather like those of No. 234. In the relief on the front of the base no Buddha is depicted, only a Bodhisattva flanked by six standing worshippers with clasped hands, three men at the right, perhaps monks, two women and a monk at the left. The Bodhisattva is in the reassuring attitude, and since he holds a flask in his left hand, he is no doubt to be identified with the Bodhisattva of the future, Maitreya. Both feet of the throne are missing. They were undoubtedly in the shape of lion's feet (cf. Nos. 232-33); from the smooth surface of the break and the small rectangular hole it is obvious that they were originally added separately.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 96. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 80. Group III

- 237 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION AND WORSHIPPERS. *Labore*, No. 700. H. 5½", w. 13". On this base the Buddha is seated in the attitude of meditation, hands covered, flanked on either side by four worshippers in princely costume, hands clasped. Along the top are a row of modillions and a saw-tooth molding.

Group III

- 238 BUDDHAS IN MEDITATION WITH WORSHIPPERS. *Labore*, No. 891. H. 19¾". On this fragmentary top of a false gable the Buddha, in the pose of meditation, hands covered, appears in all three sections. At the top he is flanked on either side by one standing and one kneeling worshipper and an ichthyocentaur (cf. No. 188), all with hands clasped; in the two other parts there is but one worshipper on

each side, the one at the left with his right shoulder uncovered. The folds of the Buddha's robe, indicated by shallow grooves, recall those of Nos. 225 and 226.

Group III

- 239 A-B. THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION FLANKED BY WORSHIPERS. *Lahore*, No. 74. H. $9\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $20\frac{1}{2}$ ". In both upper and lower sections it is the Buddha in meditation who is worshipped. The upper part is framed at the ends by Indo-Corinthian pilasters with interrupted architraves. The Buddha is seated in the center flanked on either side by three kneeling male worshippers in princely costume. In the lower part a series of Indian arches with pendants are separated by simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns. The arches were evidently arranged in groups of three, with a Buddha under each central arch and a kneeling worshipper in the arches at each side. One complete group is preserved on the right; on the left only the Buddha and one worshipper remain. For alternation of similar arches and Indo-Persepolitan columns, see No. 10. Paired, parallel lines indicate the drapery folds of the kneeling worshipper, above at the far left.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 12, Pl. 144. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 22, Fig. 53.

Group III

- 240 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION FLANKED BY WORSHIPERS. *Lahore*, No. 614. H. 6", w. $15\frac{1}{2}$ ". The meditating Buddha, hands covered, is flanked in both panels by groups of standing worshippers. The panels are separated by Indo-Corinthian pilasters.

Group III

- 241 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION FLANKED BY WORSHIPERS. *Lahore*, No. 1290. H. 6", w. $15\frac{3}{4}$ ". In the

two panels preserved the Buddha is seated in meditation under an arboreal canopy of summary execution, his hands covered. In the panel at the right he is flanked by Indra and Brahma (cf. No. 71), and in the left panel probably the same gods are portrayed.

Group III

- 242 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 221. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D, 1912. H. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". On this small medallion the Buddha is represented meditating, hands covered. The drapery folds are rendered by paired, parallel lines. On the back is a mortise, probably meant to receive just such tapering tenons as are often represented on the headdresses of Bodhisattvas; cf. Nos. 313-17. According to Mahāyāna theology, there are five divine Buddhas who rule over the five cosmic ages. Each of these ages is created by a Bodhisattva, an intermediate between the divine Buddhas and human beings, and as human counterparts to these Bodhisattvas, there is in each of the ages a human Buddha. The cosmic age to which Buddhism belonged was the fourth. It was created by a Bodhisattva called Avalokitesvara, and his human counterpart was Sākyamuni Siddhārta. The characteristic attitude of both Avalokitesvara and Sākyamuni was the *dhyāna mudra*, the pose of meditation. In a Buddhist text translated into Chinese between A.D. 147 and 186, the headdress of Avalokitesvara is described as "a heavenly crown of gems in which there is a transformed Buddha." Consequently this medallion may once have belonged to the headdress of an Avalokitesvara statue. For the pertinent Mahāyāna doctrines, see Miss de Mallmann, *Indian Arts and Letters*, XXI, 1947, pp. 80-88. Cf. also below, No. 326.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 45-46. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 189, Fig. 399 (on this

photograph the Buddha's seat, an inverted-lotus throne, can still be seen). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 53. Miss de Mallmann, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 1, and her *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948, p. 121, n. 4. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 60.

Group IV

- 243 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION FLANKED BY INDRA AND BRAHMA. *Peshawar*, No. 1864. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1909. H. 6", w. 8 1/4". As on No. 241, the meditating Buddha with hands covered is worshipped by Indra (right) and Brahma. For other sides of the same block see Nos. 140, 146, 158.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 77-78. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 92. Shakur, *Guide*, No. 101. All three authors give the inventory number as 1319.

Group III

- 244 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Peshawar*, No. 1856. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 11 1/4", w. 14 3/8". Two parakeets are sitting on an Indian arch, the sides of which seem to end in heads of the Garuda (see Nos. 350-52); under each head is a bunch of grapes. Within the arch the Buddha is in the pose of meditation, framed by a series of modillions placed on the inner side of the arch. The Buddha is seated on the inverted-lotus throne; the drapery folds are characterized by paired, parallel lines; see Nos. 227-28.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 96.

Group IV

- 245 THE BUDDHA IN THE ATTITUDE OF PREACHING. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 28", w. 18 3/4". This is an example of the third main attitude of the seated Buddhas, in which the hands are in the so-called *dharmacakra mudra*, the atti-

tude of preaching, in which the right shoulder of the Buddha is usually left uncovered; see Introduction, p. 34. In this *mudra*, at Gandhāra, the right hand is always on top, its little finger resting on thumb and index finger of the left. The halo is very large, and the hair above the center of the forehead shows the characteristic almond-shaped locks; see No. 210. The drapery folds are stringy, with low ridges in between. When the robe was put on, the start was probably made at the side of the back on the right side at a level with the waist. One end of the robe was tucked in under the *dhofī*, and from here it covered the chest from just under the armpit to the left shoulder. It continued across the back, reappearing on the right side, but farther down, at a level with the right elbow. Again it crossed the body, this time more loosely, covering both legs below, and above, after an initial curve under the right breast, enwrapping the left shoulder and arm, the end hanging down the back. The lump under the right foot probably owes its origin to an earlier arrangement of the robe in which the right foot was placed under the robe, thus producing the bulge; see Introduction, p. 32. To the left the robe goes under the left foot, covers the right leg on both sides, and ends in three characteristic loops below and between the feet. Thus, in this *mudra* not only the right shoulder but also both feet are uncovered. For the arrangement of the costume, see Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 128-29. As the robe swings up over the left shoulder the inner edge is doubled back on itself in a single, triangular fold. This rather perplexing detail is probably to be compared with the similar folds on the Buddha images of the North Wei dynasty in China; see No. 282 and Introduction, p. 37.

Group III

- 246 THE PREACHING BUDDHA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 25", w. 10½". This Buddha is distinguished by a very large halo, and the hair over the center of the forehead is arranged in the same tripartite way as on No. 125. Below the waist the figure has been left unfinished.

Group IV

- 247 THE PREACHING BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 29. H. 36½", w. 22¼". The hair at the center of the forehead shows the characteristic almond-shaped locks noted on No. 210. The drapery folds on the chest show the alternation seen on No. 245, but the folds over the legs present two important changes. The first is illustrated by the two undulant folds across the calf of the right leg; the second innovation is the two forked folds nearer the ankle, folds of a kind met on No. 106. The end of the robe hanging down to the right over the pillow is arranged in box pleats. As on No. 233, the cushion is decorated with a beaded cord, and lions' feet support the throne. On the front of the base a Bodhisattva seems to be seated in the European way, flanked by three worshippers on the right, two on the left.

Group III

- 248 THE PREACHING BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 227. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 29¼", w. 17⅛". This Buddha has a large halo, and the same arrangement of the hair over the forehead as the preceding figure, but he wears a mustache. The folds of drapery over the chest are similar, but the drapery on the left arm shows several forked folds such as those on the right leg of No. 247. Traces of paint and gilt have here been preserved about the eyes. The cushion is decorated as on No. 247, but the throne is supported by protomes of lions. A Bodhisattva in the pose of meditation

and flanked by pairs of worshippers is portrayed on the base.

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 47, 48. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 71. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 92.

Group III

- 249 THE PREACHING BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1877. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 29¼", w. 19". This Buddha has snail-shell curls similar to those of No. 233. On the chest the drapery folds are of the stringy kind, and across the right leg appears a group of undulant folds like those on No. 247. A forked fold here, too, can be seen next to them, as well as on the left shoulder and on the lump below the right foot. The end of the robe here, too, shows box pleats similar to those of Nos. 247-48. From the corners of the base the separately attached leonine feet or protomes (see Nos. 247 and 248) are missing. On the front two kneeling worshippers flank a Bodhisattva in the pose of meditation.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 75.

Group III

- 250 THE PREACHING BUDDHA. *Karachai* (formerly in Lahore). H. 31". This torso may come from a standing or seated Buddha. Its halo is very large, as in No. 248, and the hair is dressed with the same almond-shaped locks in the center. The drapery, too, in its variety of folds, is similar.

Group III

- 251 THE PREACHING BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 14. H. 3' 7½", w. 32½". The alternation of wide and narrow folds of this headless statue recalls No. 248, but the drapery is even more transparent, and the forked folds are more numerous and more clearly indicated. Further, the loop usually found between the feet is missing, and the end of the robe spreads out fanwise in box pleats over the seat and the top of the base.

The same pleats continue over the lump under the right foot. The corners of the base are missing, as on No. 249. In the center a meditating Bodhisattva is flanked by two worshippers on either side, including a monk on the left and a prince on the right. On both monk and prince the drapery folds are clearly indicated by means of paired, parallel lines. Group III

- 252 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON LOTUS THRONE. *Lahore*, No. 11. H. $21\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 18". Under a badly damaged canopy, in which flowers no doubt played a principal part (see No. 253), the Buddha is seated in the preaching attitude. Both shoulders and feet are covered, which is rather unusual in the preaching Buddhas, but see No. 256 and Introduction, p. 32 f. At each side of the Buddha is a standing figure, the one on the right with the characteristic hairdress of Maitreya, the other too damaged for identification. Paired, parallel lines mark the folds of the drapery of Maitreya's right leg. Two small, male figures peer out from behind the shoulders of the Buddha, the one on the right with clasped hands, the other with the right shoulder uncovered. Finally, above the halos of Maitreya and of his counterpart a kneeling worshipper with clasped hands seems to float in the air upon his lotus seat. To judge from the following sculpture the Buddha was seated on a lotus flower, the counterpart of Maitreya was a Bodhisattva, and the two small divinities in the background are Indra, to the right, and Brahma. For interpretation of the relief see No. 256. Group IV

- 253 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON LOTUS THRONE. *Peshawar*, No. 1527. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912. H. $21\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $23\frac{3}{8}$ ". Here the Buddha is clearly seated on a lotus flower, which, it must be admit-

ted, has a certain resemblance to an artichoke. Above his head is a canopy of more or less stylized flowers, and at each side stand two gods. There can be no doubt that the two gods on the right represent Maitreya and Indra, the former identified by his hairdress and the flask in his left hand (see No. 291), the latter recognizable by the headdress and the thunderbolt. Of the two on the left, the hair arrangement, the uncovered right shoulder, and the flask in the left hand clearly identify the one in the background as Brahma. The figure in front has both the face and the right arm missing. Like Maitreya, he is in princely costume, his left hand on his hip. No doubt he portrays some Bodhisattva, but the lack of attributes makes an identification precarious. Maitreya's *dhōti* shows on the left the rippling folds characteristic of Bodhisattvas; see Introduction, p. 28. For a similar relief in Calcutta, and interpretation, see No. 256.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 144, n. 3. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 97, Pl. 2, a. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 135-36, Pl. XVI, Fig. 25. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 859, add. to I, p. 243. Bussagli, *Archeologia Classica*, V, 1953, p. 74, Pl. XXXII, 2. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 86, Pl. III, a. Group IV

- 254 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON LOTUS THRONE. *Peshawar*, No. 158. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912. H. $23\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $18\frac{3}{4}$ ". On this version of the Buddha on the lotus, Maitreya is again on the right, and a Bodhisattva on the left. The latter has a bunch of flowers in his left hand and may have raised his right hand with the palm turned toward himself as Maitreya does; see also No. 300 and a Chinese Bodhisattva from Yün Kang of the Wei dynasty: Alan Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1944, p.

23, No. 8, Pl. XVII. He may have held it in the reassuring pose. A sculpture of a Bodhisattva with a similarly posed right hand has recently been acquired by the Baltimore Museum of Art (cf. Bingham, *Collection of Gandhara Sculpture*, Pl. XVI, left); see also Nos. 285 and 300. Between the shoulders of the Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas two half-figures recall those similarly placed on No. 253 and portray, as those do, Indra to the right, and Brahma. Over the heads of each of the Bodhisattvas a Buddha in meditation on an inverted-lotus seat (see No. 257) is in a domed and pillared chapel. Use of the dome seems to be both a royal and a divine prerogative, no doubt stemming from ancient ideas of palace and shrine as symbolizing the universe in miniature; see Nos. 94 and 257, and E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome*, pp. 79-81. In the ornamental foliage above the head of the main Buddha, three seated, haloed figures look like Bodhisattvas in the preaching attitude. Rippling folds occur here, too, on the *dhōtīs* of the standing Bodhisattvas, and at least one pair of parallel lines can be seen on Indra's costume. For interpretation, see No. 256. In the center of the base a Buddha in meditation is flanked by two pairs of worshippers, while on the left the story of Angulimāla is represented (see Nos. 118 and 119), on the right that of the Nāga Apalāla (see No. 163, B).

Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 43-44, and p. 45, first note. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 41-42, 67-68. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 47-48, 86-87.

Group IV

- 255 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON LOTUS THRONE. *Labore*, No. 1135. From Mohammed Nari. H. 3' 10", w. 3' 1 7/8". As in the two preceding sculptures, the Buddha is here seated in the center on a lotus, but he is no longer flanked by only

two Bodhisattvas and the two old Hindu gods. The Bodhisattvas now have multiplied, and some new figures have been added. Foucher has repeatedly treated this relief and similar sculptures (see *JA*, XIII, 1909, pp. 27-35, Pls. 9-16, and *AGBG*, II, p. 848, add. to II, pp. 534-37), seeing in them the story of the second of the great miracles at Srāvastī. First the Buddha had walked in the air and emitted flames from his body, but then the second and decisive miracle took place. The two Nāga kings, Nanda and Upananda, created a wonderful lotus on whose petals the Buddha seated himself. Indra and Brahma took seats next to him, Indra on the left, Brahma on the right, while the Buddha by supernatural power caused another lotus to spring up above the first, and on this flower too a Buddha was seated with his legs crossed, and this multiplication of Buddhas was continued "in front, behind, at the sides" (Hargreaves). It is undoubtedly this scene that is portrayed on our relief. From a pond full of fish and lotuses rises the ornamental stalk of a magnificent lotus on which the Buddha is seated in the attitude of preaching. Above the center of his forehead the almond-shaped locks recall No. 248 and the undulant folds on the right leg those of No. 249. On both sides of the stalk emerge the tiny figures of Nāga kings, whom we may safely identify as Nanda and Upananda; behind them stand their queens, and all four look up admiringly at the Buddha. Flanking the lotus are a man and a woman, both with hands clasped. Since they stand on lotuses, they may be regarded as forming an integral part of the miracle scene, and therefore are perhaps Lūhasudatta and his wife, who proposed to the Buddha without success that they accomplish the feat in his stead. Mrs. Lo-huizen-De Leeuw has recently tried to show that the group to which our relief

belongs has nothing to do with the Srāvastī miracle; see *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 136. Yet it seems to me that the lotus pond, the Nāgas, and the decorated lotus stalk decisively prove that the Srāvastī miracle forms the basic theme of this relief and, as we shall see below, of all of the other sculptures in this category. It is true, however, that not all the decoration on the present relief is directly connected with the Srāvastī miracle. The presence of the many worshipping Bodhisattvas attests to the unique power of the Buddha, at the same time bearing eloquent witness to the new, Mahāyāna elements in Buddhist theology; see Foucher, *La Vieille route de l'Inde*, II, p. 288. Above the head of the main Buddha two winged genii hold in their hands a jewelled crown. One may compare the genii to their counterparts in early Byzantine art; see, for example, H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354*, pp. 133-35, Pl. III, 1. Above them four *kinaras* float in the air; see Nos. 366, 368. Two of them hold a parasol above which appears the tapering ornament from the Bodhisattva headdress (see No. 284), surrounded by stylized flowers; the other two *kinaras* clasp their hands in admiration. In the top section at either corner under a plain canopy a Buddha is seated in meditation on an inverted lotus, and from both sides of him there seem to emanate four smaller, standing Buddhas. Probably these smaller Buddhas and their counterparts on other similar reliefs (see below, under No. 257) are another manifestation of Buddha's power and of the Mahāyāna theology, with its emphasis on the many Buddhas. Under this "nine in one" Buddha still another Buddha is portrayed, his right hand raised in the reassuring attitude. He is seated under an arboreal canopy, evidently in some wild region, characterized by the two animals' heads appearing on the base; cf. No. 129.

To the right a kneeling worshipper can be seen, his hands clasped. Of the Bodhisattvas who crowd the two sides of the relief, we shall begin with the top section and then proceed downwards, referring for the figures at the extreme left to the excellent, early photograph by Burgess. On both sides between the *kinaras* and the "multiple" Buddha a Bodhisattva is seated within an arched shrine, his forehead resting on the tip of one finger, one leg on the ground, the other on a footstool (cf. No. 310). In the next section, on the left of the reassuring Buddha a Bodhisattva holding a lotus faces a Bodhisattva seated with one foot on the ground, the other raised above the footstool, and the leg clasped by both hands just below the knee. On either side of the head of the main Buddha a Bodhisattva is portrayed, seated in meditation within a rectangular frame tilted slightly toward the Buddha. In the same level on the left two seated Bodhisattvas are represented, their chairs resting on lotus seats. The one on the right has one foot on a footstool; the other, shown in right profile, raises his right hand above his head and holds a lotus flower in his left hand. Between these seated Bodhisattvas two standing ones appear, supported by an inverted lotus. The one on the left holds a bowl from which his companion seems to pick flowers. In the third section at the outer edge is an arched shrine within which a Bodhisattva is seated in the teaching attitude, his legs pendant, his feet crossed; on either side of him a smaller Bodhisattva stands with hands clasped. At the side of these shrines is a Bodhisattva seated in similar manner but facing toward the center and with his hands in the teaching attitude. Nearest the main Buddha stand two garland-bearing Bodhisattvas, each supported on an inverted lotus. Only seated Bodhi-

sattvas appear on the next row. On the right, one is represented in left profile on an inverted lotus, listening to a Bodhisattva who holds a book in his left hand, and whose left foot is raised above the footstool. A book or a scroll is one of the main attributes of Maitreya, so we may recognize this "Bodhisattva of the Future" in the reading Bodhisattva. The third Bodhisattva looks toward the center, as does his counterpart on the other side. Both have one foot on the footstool, but the one on the right raises his right hand, evidently with the thumb and the little finger bent under the three middle fingers, while the other clasps both hands under his left knee. The two remaining figures here too portray a reading and a listening Bodhisattva. The reading Maitreya is here nearer the edge; the listening Bodhisattva is shown chin in hand. In the bottom row the outermost Bodhisattvas both hold lotuses and look toward the center. Each is followed by a slim figure, the one on the right seen from the back, the other frontally, but both turn their faces toward the outer Bodhisattvas. The last figures, the Bodhisattvas nearest to Lūhasudatta and his wife, are both seated with a foot touching the footstool. The one on the right raises his right hand above his head and probably holds a lotus in the other. The Bodhisattvas with lotus flowers in their hands may represent Padmapāni; see No. 324.

Le Bon, *Les Civilisations de l'Inde*, Paris, 1887, p. 251, Fig. 93. Burgess, *JAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 32, Pl. 7, 2 (excellent photograph with a clear view of the whole right side). Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 257. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 197, Fig. 79. Foucher, *JA*, XIII, 1909, pp. 29-31, 74, Pl. XVI. Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 171-74, Pl. XXVIII, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 206. Edward J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 98, Pl. III.

Group IV

256 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON LOTUS THRONE. *Peshawar*, No. 280. Found near Yakubi in the Swabi subdivision of the Peshawar district. H. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The preaching Buddha here, as in No. 252, has both shoulders and feet covered. The hair is arranged in vertical rows of curls, as on the stucco Buddhas from Taxila; see Nos. 519, 538-40. The drapery folds are stringy and show, at least on the chest, the alternation of more and less accentuated ridges. At each side of the lotus seat a garland-bearing divine acolyte kneels before the Buddha. On the left, the only side preserved, one sees at the top a Buddha in meditation, seated on an inverted lotus within an arched shrine. Under him flower-scattering Bodhisattvas are seated or standing on lotus flowers. At the level of the Buddha's knees and his lotus throne is a chapel with characteristic trefoil dome; within, a Bodhisattva seated on an inverted lotus holds a book or scroll, and is, therefore, probably Maitreya. In the center of the base a Bodhisattva is seated in meditation, flanked by two gods in princely costume, also seated, with their feet crossed and facing advancing worshippers: on the left three women, on the right a monk who alone is preserved. Below the relief is a Kharoshthī inscription that reads in Konow's translation: "Gift (of . . .) the young Jina among those who were confounded through truth, executed by the resident of Hida village . . ." According to Konow, the term "young Jina" refers to the Buddha. The explanation of this term is derived from the Buddhist tradition according to which the Buddha was a younger teacher than the forty heretics whom he confounded at Srāvastī. But if then our No. 256 refers to the Srāvastī miracle the chances are that the reliefs Nos. 252-54 also allude to this incident. They have in common with Nos.

255 and 256 the Buddha seated in a central portion on an artichokelike lotus under an ornamental canopy and flanked by a number of Bodhisattvas. Although Nos. 252-54 show the Buddha flanked also by Indra and Brahma, albeit in a smaller scale, their presence is probably due to another iconographical tradition, specifically mentioned in the version of the miracle quoted above. The smaller Buddhas floating above the Bodhisattvas in No. 254 are reminiscent of the similar Buddhas on Nos. 255 and 256; furthermore, all nine reliefs known to me, on which the Buddha is similarly seated on an upright lotus, contain some reference to the Srāvastī miracle: (1) Relief in Karachi, No. 374; see Introduction, p. 35, Pl. XVI, 3. Here the Nāgas Nanda and Upananda rise from a lotus pond with Lūhasudatta and his wife behind them; see No. 255. (2) Relief in Calcutta; see Foucher, *BBA*, p. 171, Pl. XXV, 2, and Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 66-67, No. 91. Of the two flanking Bodhisattvas, one has a book, the other a lotus in his hands. Next to the main lotus seat the two Nāgas can be seen with a monk and a woman kneeling behind them, the former probably Maudgalyāyana, the latter the nun Utpalavarnā, who had asked and were refused the same request expressed by Lūhasudatta and his wife. See also No. 258. (3) Relief in Lahore, No. 572; see Foucher, *JA*, XIII, 1909, pp. 29-32, Pl. 15 on p. 73. This sculpture recalls No. 255 in its genii, in the Buddhas in meditation within domed shrines, and in the presence of the two Nāgas under the main lotus. Outward from each of the garland-bearing Bodhisattvas are two Lokapālas. (4) Relief in Calcutta, No. 5095; see Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, pp. 253-54, No. 9, Pl. LXVIII, b, and Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 68, No. 92. A Buddha in the attitude of preaching is seated on a lotus throne that rises above a rip-

pling surface of water. On the right a Nāga stands halfway out of the water, in his left hand an oarlike object, in his right the head of a snake that hangs over his shoulder and must have issued from his back. The Buddha was unquestionably flanked by two Bodhisattvas, of which only the one on the right is partially preserved. (5) Relief from Swat; see Burgess, *JIAI*, 1900, p. 83, Fig. 24. Here the only accessory figures are the monk and nun mentioned in No. 2 of this list. (6) Relief in Calcutta; see Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 173-74, Pl. XXIV, 1. On each side of the Buddha is a Bodhisattva, the one on the right probably Maitreya, as on Nos. 253 and 254. Next to the main lotus the two kneeling worshippers probably portray Lūhasudatta and his wife. (7) Relief in Lahore, No. 1134; see Burgess, *AMI*, p. 8, Pl. 112. Above the flanking Bodhisattvas at least one Buddha was carved, seated in meditation. The stalk of the main lotus is decorated as on No. 255, and next to it two kneeling worshippers probably represent the same couple mentioned in Nos. 1 and 5 of this list. (8) Relief in Berlin; see Foucher, *BBA*, Pl. XXVI, 2. The four seated Lokapālas recall those on the relief cited under No. 3 in this list, whereas the Buddhas in meditation within rectangular shrines are reminiscent of No. 255. (9) Relief on the market; see Salmony, *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1954, pp. 29-33. This is the only relief on which the Buddha seated on an upright lotus is supported by three elephants, a feature otherwise found only in connection with the Buddha on an inverted-lotus throne, as on Nos. 257, 260, and 261. The elephants do, however, clearly point to the Srāvastī miracle; see under No. 257.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1908-09, pp. 130-32, Pl. XLVII. Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 50-51, plate. Coomaraswamy, *Art Bulletin*, IX,

1927, p. 326, Fig. 54. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Siva*, New York, 1918, p. 53, Pl. VI, Fig. 9. Konow, *CII*, II, 1, pp. 131-33, No. LXVI, Pl. XXIV, 4. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 41, 73-74. Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 66, n. 1 (translates: "The young Jina in the midst of those who had deviated from the truth," referring to the inability of the heretic teachers to perform miracles that they had undertaken to do). Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 48, 107. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, pp. 175, 403; II, Pl. 64 a. Group IV

- 257 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Peshawar*, No. 1554. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D, 1912. H. 3' 9½", w. 2' 3". The central seated Buddha here has his right shoulder and feet uncovered, as had the Buddha of No. 255, and, like him, he is surrounded by a multitude of smaller figures. In one particular this sculpture—as well as Nos. 258-61—differs from the preceding Buddhas on lotus seats: the lotus is upside down. In itself, the fact that the Buddha is seated on an inverted lotus means only one thing, namely, that he is regarded as a semidivine or divine being; see Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 131-32, also above, Nos. 8, 45 right, 227, 244, 494, and 495, and also, e.g., No. 317, on which a Bodhisattva is similarly supported. If, however, the sculptor in his portrayal of the Srāvastī miracle wanted to represent the Buddha seated on an inverted lotus, he could have used either the same iconographic adjuncts met with above (see No. 258 and the list given under No. 262) or he could have employed a different iconographic device, as he did here and on Nos. 260 and 261. On these three reliefs the lotus seat of the main Buddha is supported by the heads of three elephants. The presence of this animal was

difficult to explain until Foucher pointed out that in Sanskrit the word "*nāga*" means both "serpent" and "elephant," so that the lotus seat both here and on No. 255 can be said to be based on *nāgas*. In this case they are elephant-*nāgas*; on No. 255, the serpent-*nāgas* Nanda and Upananda. In confirmation of this hypothesis one may cite the fact that both No. 261 and a relief in the art market, No. 1 in the list given under 262, show the elephant-*nāgas* emerging from a watery base with sea birds and dolphins, similar to the one from which the serpent-*nāgas* rose on No. 255. That sculptors did draw on such linguistic puns for iconographic details has been shown in the interpretation of No. 151. On the present relief the central elephant held in its trunk a small medallion depicting a Buddha in meditation; see the Stein photograph. Near the shoulders of the main Buddha within the lower part of the trefoil arch framing his head a small haloed figure is held aloft by the head and trunk of an elephant. Above the head of the Buddha one of a pair of flying genii can be seen, helping to hold a crown or garland over the head of the Enlightened. At the bottom on either side of the central Buddha, Bodhisattvas stand on inverted-lotus bases; the one on the left raises his right hand in the pose of reassurance and holds in his left a scepter, while his counterpart on the right lowers his right hand with the palm outwards and seems to rest his left hand against his hip. The Bodhisattvas are flanked by Indo-Persepolitan columns supporting an entablature. Above its modillion cornice is a balcony with female occupants. Each succeeding section is divided from the one below by a similar cornice. In the next part at either side of the main opening three Buddhas on inverted lotuses are seated in meditation in an arcade. The three Indian arches rest on the imposts of the Indo-

Corinthian capitals. Above these two groups of three arches is a similar unbroken arcade of seven spans, a seated figure in each. The four outermost are Bodhisattvas, the three in the middle Buddhas. Of the former the two outer ones are in the same attitude as the two Bodhisattvas flanking the *kinaras* on No. 255; the other two sit with pendant legs crossed, the right hand in the reassuring pose. The Buddhas, from left to right, show all three poses: those of meditation, of reassurance, and of preaching. Two parakeets are perched in each of the spandrels of this arcade and in those below. At the top, finally, on either side, there is a chapel with flat-topped roof and sloping sides, supported by two columns and crowned by a dome. Inside each shrine, on an inverted-lotus seat, is a Bodhisattva seated, with crossed, pendant legs, in the attitude of preaching. In the center a stūpa with umbrellas on top and columns at the side (cf. Nos. 157 and 167, D) is perhaps a miniature imitation of one of the stūpas that once occupied the site of Mound D, in which the sculpture was found. According to Hargreaves, the column on the right was crowned by a lion; see No. 167, D. Between the stūpa and the chapels two legendary scenes are portrayed: on the right the young Sumati worshipping the Dipankara Buddha, on the left the child's offering of the handful of dust; see Nos. 7 and 110. For the dome, see No. 254, and for other versions of the same type as the present sculpture, see No. 261.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 112, PL XLVII, Fig. 30. Foucher, *ibid.*, p. 112. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 41-42, 98-99. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 47-48, 85-86.

Group IV

- 258 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Lahore*, No. 533. H. 19½", w. 18". The

Buddha is seated under an Indian arch with modillions, supported by two columns. His *ushnisha* is rather high, and the hair below is rendered in vertical rows like that of the Buddha on No. 256. On either side is a Bodhisattva, standing on a lotus throne similar to that of the Buddha. The one on the left holds a bunch of flowers in his left hand, like the Bodhisattva on the left in No. 254. In front of each of the column bases is a kneeling figure with hands clasped, on the left a monk, on the right a nun. These no doubt represent Utpalavarnā and Maudgalyāyana, mentioned under No. 256, list No. 2.

Group IV

- 259 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 9⅛", w. 6¼". The Buddha is seated within a small, domed shrine, a huge halo behind his head. At each corner of the shrine two princely worshippers stand with clasped hands, both in three-quarter view, the folds of their drapery indicated by paired, parallel lines. The arched opening is flanked by two Indo-Corinthian columns, the shafts decorated by groups of incised lines. The high entablature with rosettes on the frieze is interrupted by the opening of the shrine and is surmounted at the corners by two Buddhas in meditation serving as acroteria. The whole bears witness to the unorthodox way in which the Gandhāran sculptors modified the Greek order. Perched on the upper thatched dome, a parakeet enlivens the scene. In this sculpture no certain connection with the Srāvastī miracle is apparent. Neither *nāgas* nor elephants occur, neither the secular nor the religious couple; and instead of the two Bodhisattvas (see Nos. 252-54, 257 and 258), or the many (as on Nos. 255 and 256), we find two princely figures who may be Bodhi-

sattvas but who have no attributes that link them with the Srāvastī miracle.

Group IV

- 260 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Taxila*, No. 567. From Lower Stūpa Court, Jauliān. H. 12 1/8", w. 9 7/8". The Buddha is here seated on a double lotus that rests on a pedestal. Unfortunately, his head is missing and the figures that once flanked him, probably two Bodhisattvas, are lost. Both his shoulders and feet are covered, as were those of the Buddhas on Nos. 252 and 256. His hands were presumably in the attitude of preaching, like those of Nos. 257 and 261. The pedestal is supported at the front corners by the protome of an elephant, and the center shows a Bodhisattva seated in meditation on a low throne with wide, spreading back. He has a large halo and wears earrings and an elaborate turban. On either side of the Bodhisattva is a standing figure, the one on the right a monk, the other defaced; both probably represented the donors of the sculpture. Between the elephant on the right and the monk is a male figure, seated in pensive attitude, his head resting on his right hand; his counterpart on the other side clasps his hands in adoration; the seats of both are like that of the central Bodhisattva. Hargreaves identifies the central figure with Bodhisattva Siddhārta, the other two seated figures with Indra and Brahma, and the scene with the exhortation of these two gods to Siddhārta to renounce the world; cf. No. 37. I am more inclined to regard the outer two seated figures as Bodhisattvas (see No. 255, first and third sections) and to look for Indra and Brahma among the figures that once surrounded the main Buddha, as, for example, on No. 261. A sculpture of the Buddha on the inverted-lotus throne on an elephant pedestal was pub-

lished by Salmony in *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1954, pp. 29-33; see No. 256, list No. 9, on the art market in New York.

Aiyar, *MAI*, No. 7, p. 40, No. 3, Pl. XVIII, b. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 713, No. 94. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 218, No. 94. Group IV

- 261 THE PREACHING BUDDHA ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Peshawar*, No. 1361. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 18", w. 12". Against a flat background topped by five halos, the Buddha is seated in the center with a Bodhisattva on each side, each standing on an upright lotus. The one at the left must, because of his costume and the water flask, be Maitreya; the one on the right raises his right hand in the reassuring pose, his left hand on his hip. Between the heads of the two Bodhisattvas and the Buddha one can see the outlines of two other figures, probably Indra and Brahma, as on Nos. 253 and 254. The hair of the Buddha is arranged in the characteristic almond-shaped locks above the center of the forehead; see No. 60. As on the sculpture on the art market (see No. 256, list No. 9), the lotus seat is carried by three elephants, all balancing lotus flowers on the tips of their trunks. On the pedestal a pattern of wavy lines indicates the watery elements from which the *nāgas* created the lotus seat. In the center an elevated fire altar is flanked by two kneeling worshippers; cf. No. 232. Paired, parallel lines indicate the drapery folds. Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 57, Pl. XIX, c. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 41-42. Shukur, *Guide*, pp. 47-48, 87. Group IV

- 262 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION FLANKED BY INDRA AND BRAHMA, WORSHIPPERS, AND BUDDHAS IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1532. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 11 1/4", w.

36¼". On this fragment from a false gable the Buddha is seated in the pose of meditation on the inverted-lotus throne. He is flanked by two standing figures, both with hands clasped in adoration. The Buddha is seated under an Indian arch, and the two gods stand under flat-topped canopies with sloping sides, all part of an arcade supported by Indo-Corinthian columns. Above this is an openwork balustrade decorated with four rows of triangles; cf. Nos. 466, 467, 470. On either side is a narrow panel containing two superimposed Buddhas in meditation with hands covered, each seated on an inverted-lotus flower. In flanking quarter-circles is a kneeling worshipper and beyond him a facing Buddha seated on an Indo-Corinthian capital in the pose of meditation, his hands covered. Between the band confining the worshippers and the outer frame of the false gable is a border of eglantines. This relief, as well as No. 259, shows the divine Buddha being worshipped by Bodhisattvas and no iconographic details point with certainty to the Srāvastī miracle. A number of other reliefs on which the Buddha is seated on an inverted-lotus throne present, however, iconographic details similar to those observed on Nos. 252-58, 260, and 261, and do, therefore, likewise refer to the Srāvastī miracle. I shall briefly describe seven such sculptures, of which four show elephant-*nāgas* supporting the lotus (list Nos. 1-4), whereas on three either the monk Maudgalyāyana and the nun Utpalavarnā (No. 5) or Lūhasudatta and his wife kneel in worship before the Buddha (Nos. 6-7): (1) Relief in the art market; see Introduction, p. 35, Pl. XVI, 4. The elephants seem to be floating on a watery base. On the right Maitreya stands between two Indo-Persepolitan columns, and on each side of the lotus is a kneeling figure, Lūhasudatta on the left, his wife no doubt on

the right. (2) Relief in Karachi, found at Sahri Bahlol, 1912, Mound C; see Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 105, Pl. 47, Fig. 29; Introduction, p. 38, Pl. XX, 2. Here, too, the elephants emerge from a watery base, the two on the sides carrying a kneeling figure on the tips of their trunks, the monk on the left, on the right the nun. The Buddha, here seated in the attitude of meditation, is flanked on the right by a seated Bodhisattva, his right hand raised to support his head. On the right side of the Buddha four smaller Buddhas seem to emanate, standing on upright lotuses; on his left there were undoubtedly four similar figures (cf. No. 255). (3) Relief also from Sahri Bahlol; see Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 114, Pl. XXXII, below left. Two Bodhisattvas flank the Buddha, and between the latter and the Bodhisattva on the left a small figure, probably Brahma, can be seen in the background. (4) Fragment from Takht-i-Bahai; see Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 143, Pl. XLIV, a. As on No. 2 in this list, the Buddha is seated in the pose of meditation, and standing Buddhas appear at the side; here, however, three emanate from each side, not four, as on No. 2. A kneeling figure at the left portrays the monk Maudgalyāyana. (5) Relief in Calcutta from Loriyān Tāngai; see Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 173-74, Pl. XXV, Fig. 1, and Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 67-68, No. 95. The Buddha, seated between two Indo-Persepolitan columns, is flanked by two seated Bodhisattvas, as on No. 2 in this list. Above the head of the Buddha a balcony with women recalls No. 257; two Buddhas, each seated in the pose of meditation within a shrine covered by a double dome, are like those on No. 254. Below the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas is a panel with garland-bearing amorini, between two kneeling figures, the monk on the left, the nun on the right. The center of the panel

is supported by a tenon, which fitted into an inverted lotus. (6) Relief in Sammlung für Völkerkunde der Universität Zürich. On either side of the Buddha a Bodhisattva stands on an inverted lotus. Under the knees of the Buddha are two kneeling figures, the one to the left no doubt Lūhasudatta, the one to the right his wife. A kneeling child in front of the latter is presumably their child Riddhila. (7) Relief in Honolulu Institute of Arts. Like No. 5 in the list given under No. 256, this sculpture comprises besides the Buddha only two much smaller figures kneeling down at the sides of the lotus. Here they represent Lūhasudatta, on the left, and his wife.

Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 22, Fig. 51. When the Buchthal photograph was taken, the worshipper standing on the left was still complete. Group III (IV)

- 263 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE. *Monastery of Takht-i-Babai. In situ.* H. 3' 11", w. 2' 4½". Although this sculpture is unfinished, the rough outlines give a good idea of what the sculptor intended to do. The Buddha, in what was doubtless to become the pose of preaching, is seated on a base that probably was to be carved like that of No. 257, an inverted-lotus flower, supported by three elephants. The balls visible on the heads of the lateral elephants were probably to be finished into lotus flowers, as on No. 261. The two figures flanking the elephants may be divine acolytes, as on a relief from Sahri Bahlol, No. 3 in the list given under No. 262. The Bodhisattva seated below at the extreme right has his right hand raised to his head, like the corresponding Bodhisattva on No. 255. The figure above him was undoubtedly a divine garland-bearer, as on No. 255, the center row. At a level with the head of the Buddha are two Bodhisattvas in profile

worshipping with hands clasped, and above them sit two Buddhas, facing front, in the reassuring pose. The only finished part of the relief is the area between these two Buddhas. Ornamental flowers are here carved on top of a flat canopy which perhaps in its finished state was meant to be a crown held by two genii; see No. 255.

Group III (IV)

Heads of the Buddha

- 264 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 2202. From Sikri. H. 6¾". The *ushnisha* is very low; the hairline across the forehead shows the same characteristic widow's peak as No. 202. In the eyes the iris is indicated by an incised circle; see No. 214. Group III

- 265 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 375. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa, G5. H. 5". The low *ushnisha* rises in two distinct tiers. One may compare a head from Amluk (see Barger and Wright, *ASI*, No. 64, 1941, pp. 21-22, Pl. IV, 1) and a head in Berlin: I.C. 24892.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 16, No. 2, Pl. IX, b, center. Group III (II)

- 266 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 601. H. 10". On this beautiful head of excellent workmanship a string, probably of pearls, with small central stone encircles the base of the *ushnisha*. As on No. 264, the hairline dips to form the characteristic widow's peak. Group III

- 267 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 2181. From Sikri. H. 6". Wavy strands of hair flow back from the center of the hairline across the forehead, a line which here is almost horizontal.

Group III

268 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1449. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 13 1/4". The hair has been rendered by wavy strands much like those of No. 267; the *ushnisha* is rather high and has a band around the base. Of the several similar heads, slightly larger than life, and in the same black, finely polished stone, I shall mention two only. One is in the Brundage Collection, and one is a recent acquisition by the National Museum in Copenhagen: D 2199, h. 17 1/4", said to have come from Mardan.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 58. Group III

270 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 207. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 14 1/4". Similar to No. 268, but better preserved, this head gives an excellent idea of the technical skill of the Gandhāran sculptor.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 47. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 52, 71. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 58, 92. Group III

271 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1439. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 18". This head, even bigger than No. 270, is another example of the same fine workmanship. The *ushnisha* is slightly higher than in the two preceding pieces.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 57, Pl. XXI, d. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 58. Group III

272 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1448. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 12 3/8". The hair is rendered by snail-shell curls. A narrow ribbon sets off the *ushnisha*. It seems safe to assume that the sculptor by so decorating the base of the *ushnisha* has intended it as a hair arrangement rather than an excrescence on the skull (Bachhofer).

Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, p. 105; II, Pl. 147, top right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 52. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 58.

Group III

273 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 779. From Sikri. H. 16". Below the low *ushnisha*, locks above the center of the forehead lie in the characteristic almond-shaped form; cf. No. 60. Both pupil and iris have been indicated by means of incised circles, whereas on No. 214 the pupil only, and on Nos. 264 and 283 the iris only, was so indicated. Group III

274 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 646. H. 7 1/2". The hair is here, too, rendered by snail-shell curls, with the individual locks larger than those of No. 272. The hairline across the forehead is straight. Group III

275 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Karachi*, No. 372. H. 5 1/2". From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. This is very similar to No. 274, except for the slight mustache and the barely perceptible widow's peak. Excavation No. DH' 35-118. Group III

The Buddha and the Bodhisattva Siddhārta

276 DOUBLE BUST OF THE BUDDHA AND OF BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 15 3/4", w. 10 1/4". This unique sculpture unites a bust of Bodhisattva Siddhārta with that of the Buddha. The turban and jewelry of Siddhārta recall his princely days (see No. 284), a contrast to the simple attire of the Buddha. The fact that the princely bust is physically, as it were, combined with that of the Buddha may favor

the identification of the former as Siddhārta, rather than that of some other Bodhisattva.

Group III

Bodhisattva Siddhārta

- 277 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Taxila*, No. 586. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa, northeast of main stūpa, L, 3' 6" below the surface. H. 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 11". Gray sandstone. This headless figure may wear a tunic on the upper part of his body, as does another sculpture from Taxila (see Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 11, Pl. VI, Fig. 9), or he may be nude to the waist, wearing a necklace only. A *dhōtī* tied around the waist by a cord covers the lower part of the body to the ankles, and draped across the arms is a shawl. The right forearm is held horizontally against the body; the index and third fingers are raised, the thumb touching the fourth and fifth fingers. This pose, known as the *chin mudra*, denotes "meditation, knowledge, and purity." The necklace and the two bracelets speak decisively for identifying the figure with Bodhisattva Siddhārta, but it evidently dates from a time when the type had not yet been fixed. Marshall dates it in the late Saka period, that is, toward the end of the first century B.C.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 22, No. 4, Pl. VII, d. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 701, No. 6. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 212, No. 6. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 10-12, Pl. VI, Fig. 10 (excellent photograph).

- 278 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Lahore*, No. 2296. H. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". This figure may at first glance look like a Buddha, but the earrings, the necklace, and the shawl that here are added to the *dhōtī-saṅghātī* costume of the Buddha make it probable that either Siddhārta or Maitreya is portrayed.

His right hand was probably raised in the reassuring pose. Unfortunately, the left hand is too badly damaged to reveal any pose or attributes. It may have held a water flask; see under No. 279. For the costume, cf. No. 288.

Group II

- 279 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Lahore*, No. 602. H. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. 8". This and the six following sculptures (279-82, 285, 286) have been identified as Siddhārta for two main reasons. One is that the hair arrangement recalls that of the Buddha, save for additional jewelry; the second is the youthful appearance of the subject. The hair is worn long, and in addition to pearls around the base of the *uśnīṣa* the jewelry includes earrings, armbands, and necklaces. The costume of the standing figures, Nos. 279-82, seems to be the same: a *dhōtī* tied around the waist, and a shawl draped in various ways across the lower part of the body, the back, and the left shoulder and arm. Unfortunately, the left hands are missing; see No. 278. In the iconographic development of both Bodhisattva Siddhārta and Maitreya there seem to have been two currents, one Brahmanic, the other regal, so that neither can be claimed as sole distinguishing mark for either Bodhisattva; see Bussagli, *Annali Lateranensi*, XIII, 1949, pp. 362-63. Under these circumstances the presence of a Brahmanic water flask here or on Nos. 278, 280-82 cannot decide the issue in favor of Maitreya; see also under No. 288. The drapery folds of this figure are rather naturalistic. Those over the right leg are reminiscent of those in vogue at Palmyra in the third century A.D.; see above, under Nos. 217-18.

Group II

- 280 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Peshawar*, No. 957. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Besides the jewelled

ushnisha band and earrings, Siddhārta wears a diadem, two armbands—the one on the right can be seen clearly under the drapery—two necklaces, and an amulet carrier that passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The folds of the *dhoti* are characterized by thin ridges. The drapery, probably silk, here represents a thinner material than the heavy woollen robe of the Buddha. The drapery folds over the left leg show a mixture, typical for most Bodhisattvas, of zigzag and angular or rounded folds; see Introduction, p. 26.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907–08, pp. 145–46, Pl. XLVI, a, Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 87. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 102 (identifies statue as Avalokitesvara). Group III

- 281 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Lahore*, No. 814. H. 28½". Along the forehead the locks are arranged in ornamental corkscrew curls. The rippling folds characteristic of the majority of the Bodhisattvas appear in the *dhoti*, below on the left. They may be compared to those of the Sasanian kings, the ripples in both cases imitating the wavy flow of the silken garment; see Introduction, p. 28. On the right is the typical mixture of angular and zigzag folds. Group III

- 282 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Lahore*, No. 135. From Sahri Bahlol, inside the great stūpa. H. 18". The *ushnisha* here is quite high, and a wealth of curly tresses flows down over the shoulders. Around the base of the *ushnisha* there is a band. The many forked folds on both *dhoti* and shawl are like those of No. 251, and likewise recall the drapery of the Buddhas from the Yün Kang caves; see Introduction, p. 37. The stacked zigzag folds at the edge of the shawl as it hangs down from the left shoulder likewise are reminiscent

of the Yün Kang Buddhas; see also No. 245, and Introduction, p. 37. Whereas both the forked folds and the treatment of the shawl point to a late date, the plasticity evident in the rendering of both hair and drapery bears eloquent witness of the lasting imprint made by the Hellenistic spirit.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 6, Pl. 90, 1. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 183, Fig. 130.

Group III

- 283 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Peshawar*, No. 1095 M. From Palatu Dheri. H. 5½". This head is a good example of the meeting of Eastern and Western influences in Gandhāra. Greek influence is apparent in the modeling of the head, whereas the Indian spirit is manifest in the sumptuous jewelled headdress. The outer diadem is connected to the beaded band at the base of the *ushnisha* by strings of pearls that continue over the top of the head. Across the forehead the hair is arranged in symmetrically disposed curls. In the eyes, an incised arc marks the iris; see No. 273.

Marshall and Vogel, *ASI*, 1902–03, p. 165, Pl. XXV, top. Group III

- 284 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1739. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C, 1912. H. 27", w. 14". In order to understand the statue, one must take into account the second big change in Buddhist theology introduced by the Mahāyāna doctrines. The first was the multiplication of the Buddhas (see No. 255); the second, a new ideal of conduct, inspired primarily not by the life of the historical Buddha but by the Bodhisattvas, as they were now understood. The Buddha by example had stressed the importance of concentrating on the individual's own salvation, of renouncing family ties and worldly life in order to obtain

nirvāṇa. This ideal was now widely abandoned in favor of the Bodhisattva concept: men are to continue to strive for the *bodhi*, the enlightenment, but instead of renouncing the world and seeking one's personal *nirvāṇa* only, the individual is urged to stay in the world and work for the salvation of all humanity. A natural result of this change in theology was that a greater interest was taken both in the life of Siddhārta before the Enlightenment and also in his earlier incarnations; see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 216, and his *Vieille route de l'Inde*, pp. 287-88. This statue is undoubtedly to be interpreted on the basis of this new orientation of Buddhist theology. On the base at the right the man with the plow and the two oxen clearly refers to the plowing match Siddhārta was taken to see by his father; see No. 36. Therefore, the Bodhisattva seated above the base is Siddhārta, and the meditation the one most naturally associated with a plowing match, his first such experience. The arboreal canopy formed of leaves from the jambo tree, the tree of the First Meditation, is a further reference to this incident. His costume corresponds to that of Nos. 280 and 281, but the headdress is more ornate than any so far encountered. It consists of a diadem, strings of pearls, and a large, round medallion, with a tapering tenon. This tenon was probably meant to fit into a mortise in the back of a small image. The image might represent the Buddha in meditation (see No. 242), the Buddha teaching (No. 326), or still other subjects; see Th. de Mallmann, *Indian Arts and Letters*, XXI, 1947, pp. 80-86. On our sculpture the added image may have been in metal, but we know nothing about the decoration suitable to a crest of Bodhisattva Siddhārta. On some Bodhisattvas the headdress seems, however, to have had the tenon without any medallion; see,

for example, Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 189, Fig. 397, and our No. 308. Such a headdress might simply indicate that the wearer was a Bodhisattva, without specifying which one. The drapery folds of the *dhōṭī* are indicated on the left by very thin ridges, on the right by two curving folds that hang down over the edge of the base. In the center of the base is a fire altar (see No. 232) with male and female worshippers at the left. The large person kneeling at the extreme left recalls the god represented on the left on the bases of Nos. 131 and 260.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 106, Pl. XL, Fig. 12. Hargreaves, *op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 2. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 217, Fig. 413, and p. 859. Salmony, *Europa-Ostasien*, Potsdam, 1922, p. 16, Fig. 1. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 145, right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 26-27, 69, 101-02, Pl. I. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, p. 226, n. 16 (A.D. 100-150). Rowland, *Artibus Asiae*, X, 1947, p. 11 and Fig. 5. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 319, n. 101. Shapur, *Guide*, pp. 30-31, 83, Pl. II.

Group III

- 285 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA AND WORSHIPPERS. *Labore*, No. 1211. From Charsadda. H. 9 3/4". This base is best understood in the light of Mahāyāna ideas similar to those cited under No. 284. A Bodhisattva is seated in the European manner, his crossed feet resting on a footstool, as on No. 162, D. This position of legs and feet probably goes back to Sasanian influence; see Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 320, Fig. 407, center. Above his head is a rounded canopy with bunches of flowers at the sides. The halo is rather large, and the back of the throne has the same tapered form met in No. 260. His right hand is raised, but the palm is turned inwards, as on No. 254. The Bodhisattva is

flanked by five worshippers on each side, women on the right, a monk and four male laics on the left, all with clasped hands. The costume and hair arrangement of the laics are like those of Lūhasudatta on No. 255. The way in which the upper part of the women's bodies bend slightly backwards points ahead to the posture of two of the women on No. 310. The Bodhisattva-and-worshipper group is on a platform ornamented with modillions, another unorthodox use of a Hellenistic architectural feature. Foucher sees in the royal person Bodhisattva Siddhārta, and thinks that the sculptor was portraying the time when Siddhārta was asked by the gods to preach the Law; see No. 70. Perhaps, however, the Bodhisattva figure is to be taken in a more general way: Siddhārta in one of his earlier incarnations, or Siddhārta during the period between the First Sermon and the Renunciation. Paired, parallel lines render the drapery folds. A relief in Peshawar, No. 1907, shows Bodhisattva in similar position surrounded by worshippers.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 88-89, Fig. 348, and p. 838. Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, I, Berlin, 1922, p. 20, Pl. 13, c.

Group IV

- 286 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA. *Peshawar*, No. 1879. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C, 1911-12. H. 20½". We find in this head the same high *ushnisha* and the same luxuriant hair as on

No. 282. The depression above the nose marks the place where a precious stone had been inserted for the *urna*; see No. 198.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, pp. 105-06, Pl. XLII, Fig. 19. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 147, below left.

Group III

- 287 BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTA IN MEDITATION, DONORS, AND MONK. *Labore*, No. 105. H. 13⅜", w. 15¼". This relief is edged by a pilaster on the left. In the center a Bodhisattva is seated in meditation under an arboreal canopy. Since the leaves of the canopy are of the jambo tree, the sculptor no doubt had in mind the same episode as that portrayed on No. 284, the First Meditation. A donor is standing on Siddhārta's right, dressed in a sleeved caftan and long trousers. His headdress resembles the Pharaonic crown of Upper Egypt and was no doubt also emblematic of royalty. The pattern of lines decorating the tiara suggests a jewelled ornamentation. In his right hand the royal donor holds a bowl, handed him by an attendant standing at his right. The bowl no doubt symbolized a gift made to a Buddhist monastery. On the other side of the Bodhisattva stands a monk, portrayed in right profile, the folds in his robe rendered by paired, parallel lines.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 40, Pl. 25, 6. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 95-96, Fig. 353, p. 855.

Group IV

THE WORLD OF THE BUDDHA

Maitreya

288 MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 112. H. 13", w. 4 1/8". Between the index and middle fingers of his left hand, the Bodhisattva here represented holds a flask, an attribute of both the Bodhisattva Siddhārta and Maitreya; see under No. 279. The jewelled *ushnisha* and the hair flowing down over the shoulders are reminiscent of the Siddhārta statues Nos. 279-82 and might favor identifying this figure with the Bodhisattva Siddhārta; see also No. 289. The costume—*dhōṭī*, *sanghātī*, and shawl—probably represents an older fashion, as on No. 278; see Bussagli, *Annali Lateranensi*, XIII, 1949, p. 356, Fig. 1. The rather transparent drapery shows rippling folds on the *dhōṭī* below on the right, and an alternation of more and less accentuated ridges on the robe. Group II (III)

289 MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 1. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 6' 10". This mustached figure has an *ushnisha* similar to that of No. 288 but is even more bejewelled and has a central tapering tenon similar to the one seen on No. 284. His costume, *dhōṭī* and shawl, recalls Nos. 279-82. Since all the parallels cited have been identified as Bodhisattva Siddhārta, we here face, as in No. 288, the problem of whether this figure should be similarly classified. The Brahmanic water flask in the left hand is of no help (see under No. 279), but the lunar crescent between the diadem and the tenon above is conclusive evidence that the statue is of Maitreya; see Bussagli, *op. cit.*, p. 357, Fig. 2. Besides two necklaces and an amulet carrier (see No. 280), we

find a new piece of jewelry on the chest, a jewelled chain passing from the left shoulder across the right upper arm above the armlet. The thin, rounded, or angular ridges rendering the folds on the *dhōṭī* recall those of No. 281. Group III

290 MAITREYA. *Karachi*. H. 3' 6 3/8", w. 11 3/4". The arrangement of the hair at the top of the head, in two loops forming a horizontal figure 8, seems to be a characteristic of Maitreya; see above under No. 37. Like No. 289, this Maitreya, too, wears a mustache. The principal chain necklace here terminates in the heads of two monsters fighting for a jewel, and in addition to the amulet chain there are two jewelled chains passing from the left shoulder across the chest; see No. 289. The shawl ends on the right in a cord, tipped with a tassel. The drapery is quite transparent and over the right leg shows rippling folds done with rather thin ridges. The remaining folds of the *dhōṭī* are deeply undercut between the legs and show here and over the left leg the characteristic angular folds, the edges of which are rendered in the familiar zigzag design. In his left hand Maitreya holds the water flask, decorated with an incised pattern. On the base a central object, probably an incense altar (see No. 399), is flanked by two worshippers on either side; cf. a base in Peshawar, No. 1870; Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 56; also the altar on the base of a seated Maitreya in Berlin, cf. Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, I, p. 19, Pl. 2. Group III

291 MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 2354. From Sikri. H. 4' 4", w. 24". This mustached Maitreya is quite similar to the preceding

one, in costume, jewelry, and attribute, but differs from it in the way in which the topknot is arranged. The two halves of the figure 8 are not stiffly horizontal but fall down over the sides of the head.

Group III

- 292 MAITREYA. *Karachi*, No. 444. From
-93 Mohra Moradu, Taxila. H. 3' 4½", w. 10½". The topknot has the same shape as on No. 290. The Bodhisattva wears a robe as on No. 288, but the rippling and zigzag folds recall those on the *dhōṭī* of No. 290, and the shawl is similarly draped. The chain necklace here terminates in two winged females, holding a cylindrical gem between them. The large, heavy earrings have a lion's head ornament at the pierced lobe. Here and on the following two figures the right armlet is surmounted by a disk; even the sandals have jewelled lacings. The base is decorated by four five-petalled eglantines. A similar statue is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 164329.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 30, Pl. XXIV, a. Bussagli, *Annali Lateranensi*, XIII, 1949, p. 354 (dates it between A.D. 200 and 300). Codrington, in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 35, No. 105. A. W. Lawrence, in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, I, Saint Louis, 1951, p. 533, n. 6, Pl. 38, a. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 722, No. 142. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 223, No. 142.

Group III

- 294 MAITREYA. *Peshawar*, No. 1866. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C. H. 4' 10½", w. 10½". The drapery, though quite similar in general to No. 291, is here even more diaphanous and the rippling of the folds more accentuated. The halo is quite large. On the base a Bodhisattva is seated with feet crossed, as on No. 285, flanked on either side by three worshippers.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 106, Pl. XL, Fig. 9. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 221, Fig. 416. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924-25, p. 27, Fig. 9 (A.D. 50-75). Wellesz, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 9, Pl. 20. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 11, 55, 56. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 118, Pl. XII, Fig. 18 (from "flourishing period," A.D. 150 on). Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 10, 63, 64, Pl. V, c.

Group III

- 295 MAITREYA. *Peshawar*, No. 2087. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 4' 6", w. 12⅝". The base is missing and the shawl is draped differently, but otherwise this statue is much like the preceding one, including a very large halo. It was found together with the standing Bodhisattva, No. 315, and probably came from the same workshop.

Group III

- 296 MAITREYA. *Peshawar*, No. 1873. From Takht-i-Bahai, 1913. H. 3' 7", w. 15⅝". This Maitreya is similar to the preceding except for a row of small curls across the forehead, reminiscent of Siddhārta, No. 281. A fragment of the water flask can be clearly seen in his left hand.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 74.

Group III

- 297 MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 132. H. 24", w. 8¾". The topknot is arranged as on No. 292. This Maitreya wears a robe in addition to the *dhōṭī* and shows a draping of the shawl similar to that in No. 292. The folds of the robe are indicated by thin ridges.

Group III

- 298 MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 5. H. 24⅞", w. 8". The topknot is as on No. 297, but the costume is like that of No. 296, where Maitreya also wears a slight mustache. On the right one can see the tassel in which the shawl terminates; cf. No. 290. The base seems to be decorated with vine leaves; cf. No. 461.

Group III

- 299 REASSURING MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 569. From Karki. H. $26\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $17\frac{1}{4}$ ". This Maitreya is seated on the royal lion throne in the reassuring pose. Instead of the usual looped topknot, he has a small *ushnisha* with a row of curls around the base. The halo has not only one incised circle around the edge, as on No. 60, but also a second one near the head. He is dressed in a robe, draped like that of the Bodhisattva on No. 37, and a shawl, which here covers the left shoulder and arm, the ends hanging down in box pleats behind the left hand and over the left knee. The left hand holds the water flask; the palm of the right hand displays a small circle similar to the Buddha's of No. 60. The folds of the robe are rendered by thin ridges, both knees being, however, quite smooth. Two seated Maitreyas show a similar pose: one is now in Calcutta (see Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 91, No. 284, Pl. IV, a), and the other was found at Abarchinar in the Swat Valley (see Barger and Wright, *MASI*, No. 64, p. 61, No. 138, Pl. V, 4). On the stucco Maitreya No. 542 the end of the shawl is draped over the left forearm in similar fashion.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 228, Fig. 421.

Group III (IV)

- 300 SEATED MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 1967. H. 9", w. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". In this image of poor workmanship, the mustached Maitreya has a topknot similar to that of No. 298 and holds the water flask in his left hand, as in No. 299. The right hand, however, is not in the reassuring pose, but held with the palm turned inward; see No. 254. The shawl hangs down over the left knee in two characteristic loops. Group IV

- 301 SEATED MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 1129. From Upper Nathu Monastery. H. $19\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 7". The halo of this mustached

Maitreya is decorated by a border of radiating flames; cp. the triangles of the halo on No. 225. The topknot is like that of No. 292, and the hair along the forehead shows vertical rows of curls similar to those on No. 296. The left hand has the water flask; the right hand, together with most of the right side of the relief, is missing.

Group III

- 302 MAITREYA IN MEDITATION. *Lahore*, No. 1968. H. $25\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 15". Maitreya's topknot has the same form as in No. 296. He is seated in the attitude of meditation, the water flask hanging from the index and third fingers of his left hand; cf. a Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol: Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2, right. The folds of the *dhori* are indicated by paired, parallel lines. The two curving ends of the shawl hang down on either side of the head of the worshipper kneeling on the front of the base, on the right. Another worshipper kneels on the left, and between them stands the object of their worship, the fire altar. A similar scene is represented on the base of a Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol (Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2, left), on that of a Bodhisattva in meditation now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, on that of the seated Buddha, No. 232, and on that of the Bodhisattva Siddharta, No. 284. It is also on the bases of two other seated Maitreyas who are portrayed in meditation and with the water flask: one in Calcutta (see Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 92, No. 309), the other published by V. A. Smith in *JASB*, LVIII, Pt. 1, 1889, p. 127, Pl. IX, Fig. 2. Two standing statues of Maitreya show similarly a fire altar in the center of the base: on one, in the National Museum in Copenhagen, No. D1880, it is flanked by two kneeling worshippers; on the other, in the William Rockhill Nelson

Collection, Kansas City, No. 35-32, four men stand in adoration before the altar, two on either side. For the meaning of the fire altar here, see Introduction, p. 36.

Group IV

- 303 REASSURING MAITREYA FLANKED BY WORSHIPPERS. *Karachi*, in Box 20. From Rawalpindi. H. $6\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ". In the center Maitreya is seated in the reassuring pose, as on No. 299, with a low *ushnisha* on his head. The right side of the panel is missing; at the left end is an Indo-Corinthian pilaster. To Maitreya's right stand four worshippers clad in caftan and trousers. The one nearest to Maitreya has a bowl with flowers in each hand; the three others stand with hands clasped in adoration.

Group III

- 304 REASSURING MAITREYA FLANKED BY WORSHIPPERS. *Lahore*, No. 1338. H. 9", w. 17". Here the center and the right side of the relief have been preserved, showing Maitreya seated, with the water flask in his left hand, his right hand raised in the attitude of reassurance. On his left stand three worshippers, two with clasped hands, the middle one probably holding flowers in his raised right hand.

Group III

- 305 REASSURING MAITREYA FLANKED BY MONKS. *Peshawar*, No. 626. From Palatu Dheri, 1903. H. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $16\frac{1}{4}$ ". On this base Maitreya is seated with the water flask in his left hand, his right being raised in the pose of reassurance. He is surrounded by monks with clasped hands, three to the left, two to the right. Of special interest is the Kharoshti inscription under the two monks on the right, which Konow translates as "Gift of . . . ta." The throne is supported by lion's feet; cf. No. 247.

Marshall and Vogel, *ASI*, 1902-03, p. 167, No. 1. Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 245, No. 13, and p. 255, Pl. LXVII, 2. Konow, *CH*, II, 1, p. 120, No. LIV. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 82. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 93-94.

Group III

- 306 PREACHING MAITREYA. *Peshawar*, No. 184. From Sahri Bahlol. H. $34\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $18\frac{1}{2}$ ". Whereas it was easy for the sculptor to add the water flask to Maitreya in the attitudes of reassurance and meditation, the problem was more difficult in the preaching pose. The sculptor evidently decided to suppress the water flask entirely and rely on the topknot only for identification, the loops of which here hang down over the sides, as on No. 302. The cushion on which the mustached Maitreya sits and the lion protomes on the base recall the corresponding parts of Nos. 248 and 308. Between the lions on the base six worshippers are represented, three on each side of a Bodhisattva in meditation.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 116, Pl. XXXIII, b. Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 44. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 233, Fig. 424. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 68-69. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 90.

Group III

- 308 PREACHING MAITREYA. *Peshawar*, No. 1435. From Sahri Bahlol. H. $3' 6\frac{1}{2}"$, w. 27". The arrangement of the hair is similar to that of Bodhisattva Siddharta on No. 284, but instead of the medallion a rather tall *ushnisha* is here in plain view. The ambiguous water flask (see No. 279) is here placed in the center of the base on a low platform, flanked on either side by two worshippers with clasped hands. That the enthroned Bodhisattva is meant to be Maitreya, however, is clearly shown by his pose of preaching. The folds of the *dhoti* on the left are rendered by an alternation of more and less accentuated ridges. They

hang down over the base, as do three loops of the shawl on the right. The decoration of the cushion and the lion protomes of the base are like those of No. 306. A Maitreya in meditation, in the Berkeley Galleries in London, 1953, also has a solitary water flask on the base.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 55 (with remark by Vogel), Pl. XX, c. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 231, Fig. 423. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 56. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 80.

Group III

- 309 MAITREYA. *Lahore*, No. 304. H. 13", w. 9 3/4". Maitreya is here seated on an inverted-lotus throne similar to that of the Buddha on No. 259. The loops of the topknot cross his head obliquely from left to right. In his hands he holds a bunch of flowers; see No. 316. The feet are crossed at the ankles, as on No. 285. For similar arrangement of the hair, cf. Maitreya torso in the Brooklyn Museum: Eastman, *Parnassus*, January, 1932, p. 27, and two standing Maitreyas, one in the National Museum, Copenhagen, D1880, one in the Heeramanek Collection, see Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, No. 38. See also our No. 311. Group III

- 310 MAITREYA FLANKED BY FEMALE WORSHIPPERS. *Peshawar*, No. 1701. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C. H. 7", w. 15". On the left a footstool is placed in front of a fragmentary, rectangular seat. Farther right on a seat of similar shape Maitreya sits, his topknot like that of No. 300, his right hand raised in the *chin mudra*; see No. 277. Whereas his left foot rests firmly on the ground, the right is drawn up; cf. most of the Bodhisattvas on No. 255, and a Bodhisattva Padmapāni in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 94, No. 287, Pl. V, a. Four female worshippers are on his left. The two in the center have

clasped hands and are wearing triangular headdresses decorated with crossed lines; the heads of the other two are uncovered. All have trailing robes, and the two in the center present a highly characteristic stance; cf. No. 285. The weight is on the right foot, the right hip thrusts forward, the trunk sways back, and the head inclines slightly forward. Both costume and bearing seem to point to the tribes northeast of Gandhāra. The ladies portrayed on the frescoes from Qyzil in East Turkestan have the same posture, reminiscent of Holbein and Van Dyck, and their robes, too, sweep the ground; see Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, p. 44, Figs. 22-23. In Chinese art the noble ladies are represented in similar manner at least as early as the Tang period; see Sirén, *Kinas Konst under tre Årtusenden*, II, Stockholm, 1943, pp. 146-47, Fig. 140. Bodhisattvas, too, are rendered in like manner; cf. Sirén, *op. cit.*, p. 126, Figs. 113, 114. The folds in the garments of Maitreya and of the woman at the extreme right are shown by paired, parallel lines, whereas the two women at her right have angular folds in their robes.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 6, 3d row center. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 100. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 90.

Group IV

- 311 MAITREYA BUST. *Peshawar*, No. 181. From Sahri Bahlol, 1906-07. H. 15 1/4". On this bust Maitreya's topknot is arranged in a manner similar to that of No. 309, with the difference that the loops here go from right to left, as they also do on the stucco figure, No. 562.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 116, Pl. XXXIII, c. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 69.

Group III

- 312 HEAD OF MAITREYA OR OF LAYMAN. *Peshawar*, No. 1768. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 11 1/2". On account of the

small looped lock on top of the head, this sculpture may represent Maitreya, although Hargreaves prefers to identify it with a layman, because of the lack of the *urna*. This distinguishing mark has, however, often been omitted (cf. Nos. 264, 266), but it is true that the way in which the forehead hair has been rendered is rather unusual for Maitreya.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 102.

Group III

Bodhisattvas

- 313 BODHISATTVA. *Peshawar*, No. 200. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 4' $\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. 13". The five statues, Nos. 313-17, might be classified as belonging to the Avalokitesvara type, characterized by the peculiar tapering tenon in the headdress. But as we have already met examples of this ornament on a relief of Siddhārta, No. 284, and on statues that we have ascribed to Maitreya, Nos. 289, 308, it seems obvious that it was not a decoration restricted to any one Bodhisattva. As a matter of fact, Miss de Mallmann has given very good reasons for believing that the only statues certain to represent Avalokitesvara are those in which the crest of the headdress contains a seated Buddha; cf. Nos. 242 and 326. An observation by Spooner, the finder of the present statue, does, however, have an important bearing on the problem. On the site he found two medallions cut out to fit over such a tapering member as appears in the center of the headdress. Both showed a figure of the Buddha seated in meditation, and although Spooner could not determine which one of the two belonged to this statue, it must be deemed highly probable that one of them did. Therefore, it seems more than likely that the reason for the presence of this tapering tenon on

statues of Bodhisattva Siddhārta, Maitreya, and Avalokitesvara is simply that the tenon, at least originally, was fitted into a medallion that would indicate with all desirable clarity which Bodhisattva was meant; see also No. 284. We must, therefore, be content to call the five statues by the vague name of Bodhisattva only. The halo of the present mustached Buddha is quite large. The left hand has been broken off, but it seems to have held a garland, as in No. 316; the right hand probably was also in the reassuring pose of that statue. Costume and folds are like those of No. 295. On the front of the chamfered base a Buddha seated in meditation is flanked by two worshippers on either side; on the corners are two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, the capitals of which might be called Corintho-lotiform, the upper part consisting of three lotus flowers.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 116, Pl. XXXIII, a. Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 44-45, plate. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 11, 69, Pl. 4, a. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 10, 82, Pl. V, a.

Group III

- 314 BODHISATTVA. *Labore*, No. 1226. From Mohammed Nari. H. 3' 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. 1' 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". This mustached Bodhisattva is similar in costume and folds to that of No. 313. The halo is very large and along the horizontal diameter shows the ends of ribbons encircling the headdress. The left hand may have held a floral attribute like that in No. 316.

Group III

- 315 BODHISATTVA. *Peshawar*, No. 2087. A. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 4' 8", w. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Maitreya sculpture No. 295 was found together with this statue, which no doubt came from the same workshop. The left hand rests on the hip.

Group III

- 316 **BODHISATTVA.** *Labore*, No. 1236. From Sikri. H. 22", w. 7½". The tapering tenon is here topped by a fantail ornament, a decorative element found on a number of these statues. Radiating leaves border the halo. The right hand is in the reassuring attitude, and the left holds a stylized wreath; cf. Nos. 254 and 309. The costume is like that of No. 314, but the shawl is draped in a slightly different manner. On the base a Bodhisattva in meditation is flanked by two kneeling worshippers.

Group III

- 317 **BODHISATTVA.** *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 26¾", w. 6½". This statue, standing on an inverted-lotus base, has a similar fantail headdress. The drapery folds on the left are rendered by paired, parallel lines. Two other Bodhisattvas stand on similar bases; one was published by Burgess, *AMI*, p. 6, Pl. 82 left, one by Bussagli, *Annali Lateranensi*, XIII, 1949, p. 357, Fig. 2, and the third by Rowland, *Zalmoxis*, I, 1938, p. 79, Pl. VII, Fig. 7. In the latter the right hand is preserved, raised in the attitude of reassurance.

Group IV

- 318 **BODHISATTVA IN MEDITATION.** *Labore*, No. 574. H. 28", w. 19¾". This mustached Bodhisattva is seated on the lion throne, his hands in the pose of meditation. His fantail headdress probably had the familiar tapering tenon; the earrings are in the shape of animals. The drapery folds of the robe are rendered by very thin ridges.

Group III

- 319 **PREACHING BODHISATTVA.** *Labore*, No. 9. H. 21⅛". A Bodhisattva with fantail headdress is here shown in the teaching pose, seated with feet crossed at the ankles. For similar statues, see Hackin, *Guide Catalogue du Musée Guimet, Les*

Collections Bouddhiques, Paris, 1923, Pl. I, facing p. 20, and below, No. 325.

Group III

- 320 **BODHISATTVA.** *Taxila*, No. 421. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 4". The Bodhisattva is seated on a low throne, similar to that on No. 310. His feet are crossed on a footstool decorated with roundels. The fingers of his right hand are perhaps in the same *chin mudra* as are those of the Bodhisattva on No. 310. The drapery folds are of the paired, parallel type.

Excavation No. DH'13-164.

Group III

- 321 **BODHISATTVA WITH WORSHIPERS** (left). **MONK WITH ATTENDANTS.** *Labore*, No. 991. From Upper Nathu Monastery. H. 9", w. 3¾". Two sides of this Indo-Corinthian pillar are decorated. On the side at the right a monk, his robe arranged like a himation (cf. No. 211), stands between two smaller figures, another monk on the right in similar costume and pose, and on the left a person with right shoulder uncovered, also possibly a monk; cf. Nos. 143, 144. On the side at the left are again three standing figures, a Bodhisattva, his right hand raised in the reassuring pose, and on either side a worshipper with hands clasped. As a possible explanation of the relief at the right, that with the three monks, one may suggest that the central figure is a Buddhist saint, probably of the Mahāyāna faith. Even after his death such a person would continue to work for the salvation of humanity, and thus amply merit the honor of a sculptured portrayal. As there is no known example of the Buddha's ever having been portrayed with shaven head (see No. 50), it seems impossible to interpret the two main persons as the Buddha and the Bodhisattva Siddhārta. Group III

- 322 **BODHISATTVA OR DEITY ON INVERTED-LOTUS THRONE.** *Taxila*, No. 423. Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $5\frac{1}{8}$ ". Seated on an inverted-lotus throne is a Bodhisattva or haloed deity, holding a garland across his body. Undoubtedly this fragment came from a relief like No. 255, depicting the great miracle at Srāvastī. Cf. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, pp. 718-20, Nos. 122, 123, 129, 130; and Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 221, No. 129. Group III
- 323 **BODHISATTVA OR DEITY.** *Taxila*, No. 9025. From Kālāwān. H. $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". The costume and headdress of the person represented may denote either a Bodhisattva or a deity. He is seated in the European way, his feet on a footstool decorated like the one on No. 320. The raised right hand probably indicates that the fragment belonged to a panel illustrating the scene in which the gods exhort Siddhārtha to renounce the world; cf. No. 37, and a relief in the British Museum; Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 321, Fig. 164, B, and II, p. 838. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 713, No. 96. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 80, b, No. 96. Group III
- 324 **BODHISATTVA BUST. PADMAPĀNI (?)**. *Labore*, No. 969. From Sanghao. H. $11\frac{3}{8}$ ". This bust of a mustached Bodhisattva shows the tapering tenon studded with pearls in the center of the fantail crest. The decoration of the halo is most remarkable. A row of rather tall lotus flowers seems to grow out of the upper perimeter, and on top of the last lotus flower on the right sits a small deity, his hands clasped in adoration. There is a Bodhisattva whose surname, Padmapāni, means "the one with the lotus flower in his hand." It is very likely that the present bust, so abundantly endowed with lotus flowers, portrays this Bodhisattva Padmapāni, who in the Mahāyāna theology represents the Bodhisattva corresponding to the Buddha Śākyamuni; cf. Introduction, p. 20. For images of Padmapāni cf., besides No. 255, two sculptures in Calcutta, see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, Fig. 410 on p. 213, and Fig. 428 on p. 241, and one in the British Museum, see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, Fig. 427 on p. 239. Cole, *Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*, Pl. 7, top. Burgess, *JAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 39, Pl. 21, 1. Group IV (III)
- 325 **PREACHING BODHISATTVA.** *Peshawar*, No. 1444. H. $3' 1\frac{1}{2}"$, w. $19\frac{1}{2}"$. This headless Bodhisattva is seated on a low throne in the attitude of preaching, with his feet, crossed at the ankles, resting on a footstool. In spite of the fact that Hargreaves as early as 1930 described this sculpture as headless, I cannot help thinking that it is identical with the Bodhisattva *with head* found by Spooner at Sahri Bahlol and published by him in *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 54-55, Pl. XIX, a. The complete statue was also illustrated by Foucher in *AGBG*, II, p. 237, Fig. 426, from a photograph of the "Archaeological Survey of India," and there said to be in the museum of Peshawar. On it a mustached head is crowned by an elaborate turban with fantail crest and tapering tenon. Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 54-55, Pl. XIX, a. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 50. Group III
- 326 **AVALOKITESVARA.** *Peshawar*, No. 1867. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912. H. $3' 2\frac{1}{2}"$. This mustached, standing Bodhisattva has a very large halo and costume like those of Nos. 313 and 315 and holds in his left hand a garland of flowers; cf. No. 316. The headdress is of special interest, for here the crest containing a seated, teaching Buddha has been preserved in the turban. The statue seems without any doubt to

- represent Avalokitesvara; cf. above, No. 313. Foucher, Aurel Stein, and Miss de Mallmann, however, date the statue not earlier than the seventh century. At that time the Buddha should always be in the meditating attitude in an Avalokitesvara crest. Miss de Mallmann, therefore, considers an identification with Avalokitesvara impossible; instead, she interprets the figure as Panchika, and the object held in the left hand of the Bodhisattva as a purse, one of the emblems of this deity; cf. No. 345. There can, however, be no doubt that a floral wreath is meant; further, I doubt whether the statue really is as late as these scholars think. Of the folds on the left, some are rippling, others are rendered by means of shallow grooves; those on the right are indicated by incised, angular lines. Such folds to my mind should not be later than the Gupta period, in which, according to Miss de Mallmann, the *mudra* in the headdress had not yet become fixed. I am therefore inclined to regard the present statue as an Avalokitesvara.
- Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 243, No. 2; p. 242, Fig. 429. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 55. Th. de Mallmann, *Indian Arts and Letters*, XXI, 1947, p. 82, n. 1, and in *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, p. 125, n. 4. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 130, n. 153. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 64. Group III
- 327 BODHISATTVA. *Lahore*, No. 1916. H. 32½", w. 14". This headless torso has the same, older arrangement of the robe found for example on Nos. 292 and 297 (Maitreya). A statuette in the Yale University Art Gallery, No. 1953.31.1, gives the only example I know of a Bodhisattva with the tapering tenon in the crest who in addition to *dhōṭī* and shawl wears a robe, like the present torso. Group III
- 328 BODHISATTVA. *Lahore*, No. 32. H. 3' 6". A similar arrangement of the shawl is found on statues both of Maitreya (e.g., No. 295) and of other Bodhisattvas (e.g., No. 315). Both knees are quite visible under the *dhōṭī*. The drapery folds recall those of No. 315. Group III
- 329 BODHISATTVA OR SUMATI. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 14¾". One first thinks of identifying this fragment with Bodhisattva Siddhārta, but the clasped hands make it more probable that the Bodhisattva represented is doing homage to the Buddha. The uncovered right shoulder would in this case be unusual, so perhaps the subject is the Brahman novice Sumati, who is represented very much like this fragment on the reliefs illustrating the *Dīpankara jātaka*; see No. 7. Group III
- 330 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Lahore*, No. 946. From Sikri. H. 8¾". This mustached head gives an excellent idea of the sumptuous headdress of a Bodhisattva, with the elaborate turban, the tapering tenon, and the fantail crest. Group III

Various Major and Minor Deities

- 331 HEAD OF INDRA. *Taxila*, No. 340. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 5¾". This relief fragment shows Indra mustached, and wearing a low headdress decorated with a floral design. Cf. Indra on Nos. 253, 254. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 723, No. 149. Group III
- 332 HEAD OF INDRA. *Taxila*, No. 341. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 4¾". Indra is similarly portrayed in this fragment. The headdress here is decorated with panels containing, from left to right, a five-pet-

alled eglantine, two men facing one another, and a disk with central boss.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 723, No. 150. Group III

- 333 VAJRAPĀNI. *Peshawar*, No. 1537. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D. H. 20", w. 14 1/8". The right-hand part of this relief was found first, and at a later date the fragment on the left with the woman and the thunderbolt. The second find decisively disproved the ingenious theory of the excavator, Aurel Stein, that the subject illustrated was the frivolous legend about the sage Ēkasringa who carried to town on his back the courtesan who had beguiled him. As the thunderbolt indicates, the bearded man on the ground is Vajrapāni (cf. Nos. 137, 139), and the present fragment portrays his deep grief at the death of the Buddha. The drapery folds are rendered by alternation of more and less accentuated ridges; on the costume rippling folds and a few forked ones occur. Cf. a similar grieving Vajrapāni on a relief in Victoria and Albert Museum: Deydier, *Contribution*, frontispiece. For Vajrapāni, see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 48-64.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, pp. 113-14, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 34. Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 114, n. 1. Foucher, in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, III, Paris, 1919, p. 22 and Fig. 3. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 97. Deydier, *Contribution*, pp. 32-33. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 849, 854-55, add. to I, p. 564, and II, p. 59. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 89. Group III

- 334 VAJRAPĀNI. *Taxila*, No. 134. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 9 3/4". Another example of a bearded Vajrapāni, whose sad expression may well indicate that he, too, belonged to a relief illustrating the death of the Buddha. He holds the thunderbolt in his right hand. Excavation No. DH'12-640. Group III

- 335 VAJRAPĀNI. *Taxila*, No. 133. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 13 1/2". The youthful-looking Vajrapāni is here clad in a garment held together on the chest by a circular fibula. In his right hand he holds the thunderbolt. Excavation No. DH'14-804. Group III

- 336 VAJRAPĀNI. *Lahore*, No. 50. H. 6 1/4". Vajrapāni, unbearded save for whiskers, here wears only a loincloth. A strap over his right shoulder seems to be attached to some object on the right, undoubtedly a sword, as on a Vajrapāni figure illustrated by Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 88, Fig. 42, No. 5. Group III

- 337 VAJRAPĀNI AND WORSHIPPERS OF THE BUDDHA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 13 1/2", w. 8 3/4". On the left above is a small object like a bell, similar to the one attached to Panchika's lance in No. 338. To the right is a mustached, turbaned, and haloed head. Below and on the left is another mustached head with topknot looking worried or excited; the left hand with thunderbolt seems to belong to the same figure. On the right is an unbearded head, also with topknot. Below all is an outstretched arm holding in its palm an alabastron. The head at the top may be that of Indra, the figure with the thunderbolt is doubtless Vajrapāni, and the third head may be that of Brahma; cf., e.g., No. 60. Perhaps the fragment formed part of a relief representing the death of the Buddha; cf. a version in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 71, No. 99, Pl. X, b. For the eyes, cf. No. 273. Group III

- 338 PANCHIKA. *Lahore*, No. 3. From Tackal, near Peshawar. H. 5' 11", w. 22 3/4". The semidivine Panchika was the war lord of the *yakshas*, but in addition to his military function he represented, to-

gether with his wife Hārītī, the divine power ensuring fertility and riches. The mustached Panchika is seated in the European manner on a rectangular throne, his left foot on a footstool. He looks to the right and holds in his left hand a lance with a bell attached near the top. The jewelled turban, ear ornaments, necklace, chest chain, and bracelets bear witness to his riches, the profile of his abdomen to his aversion to ascetic living. Two small naked children emphasize the fertility aspect of his character; the one near his right knee holds the end of a garland hanging from his left shoulder. The donor is undoubtedly portrayed in the diminutive male next to Panchika's left leg. He holds flowers in his right hand, and is richly dressed in caftan and trousers, the latter decorated with pearls down the front.

V. A. Smith, *JASB*, LVIII, 1889, Pt. I, p. 122, Pl. VIII. Burgess, *AMI*, p. 6, Pl. 85. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 137, Fig. 88. Vogel, *BEFEO*, III, 1903, pp. 149-52, 157-58, Fig. 12 on p. 150. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 116, 118, and Figs. 367-68 on pp. 108-09. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, I, London, 1921, p. 79, plate ("Scythian emperor"). Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India*, p. 59, Pl. 33. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, pp. 77, 79, Fig. 46. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 133 (dates it A.D. 130-200).

Group III

- 339 PANCHIKA. *Peshawar*, No. 2088. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 28". This Panchika faces front but otherwise has the same general appearance as No. 338; he also holds in his left hand a lance, of which only the lower part has been preserved. The *dhoti* is here quite transparent, and instead of the tasselled belt of No. 338, a sling of the same material as the *dhoti* passing over the chest and left shoulder is

attached to the upper edge of the *dhoti* at his right side. The folds of the *dhoti* are indicated by alternating more and less accentuated ridges. A naked child stands between Panchika's legs. Two still smaller figures to right and left are the donors, on the right a man with clasped hands, dressed in caftan and trousers, on the left a woman. The front of the base is decorated with eglantines.

Vogel, *BEFEO*, III, 1903, pp. 154-57, Fig. 14 on p. 155. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 111, Fig. 369. Group III

- 340 HĀRITĪ. *Labore*, No. 2100. From Sikri. H. 35 3/4". The identification of Hārītī rests mainly on an account given by the Chinese traveller I-tsing, A.D. 671; see Majumdar, *Guide*, pp. 98-99. In a former incarnation Hārītī made a vow to devour all the infants at Rājagriha. In consequence of this vow, she forfeited her life, was reborn as a *yak-shī*, and gave birth to five hundred children. Every day she ate some infants at Rājagriha until the Buddha was informed. In order to reform her, he concealed one of her own brood, the one to whom she had given the name "My Beloved Child." She sought for it from place to place and found it only when she reached the Buddha. In answer to her accusations, the Buddha expressed amazement that she had been so worried about her child. "After all, it was but one of five hundred. How much more grieved are those who, with only one or two children, have lost one or both on account of your cruel vow." Touched by his words, Hārītī was soon converted, but in her anxiety for her own children she asked the Buddha how they would be able to continue to exist in the future. The Buddha quieted her fears by promising that in every monastery sufficient food would be set aside for them every day. That is why the image of Hārītī

is found in all Buddhist monasteries, holding an infant in her arms and with three or five children round her knees. The Lahore statuette gives a good idea of the appearance of this converted ogress. One baby is at her breast, and two others have climbed to her shoulders. She is dressed in a *sāri*, a costume made from a single piece of cloth. The transparent drapery reveals the shape of her rather solid body; the folds are shown by an alternation of more and less accentuated ridges, with occasional forked folds. The hair is brushed back at the sides, but in the middle of the forehead there is a cluster of snail-shell curls. Suspended from these curls by means of a thin cord, a small rosette appears in the center of the forehead, and from behind the ears tresses hanging over the shoulders recall those of the early Palmyrene ladies. Naturally, a codispenser of riches, she is bedecked with jewelry: a pearl diadem on her head, recalling that of the Byzantine queens, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, finger rings, and a jewelled girdle visible under the drapery. Children and riches—one understands the powerful attraction this couple exercised even under a Buddhist regime.

Senart, *JA*, XV, 1890, pp. 140–43, Pl. III. Burgess, *AMI*, p. 13, Pl. 145, 2. Burgess, *JIAI*, 1900, pp. 25–28, Pl. 3, Fig. 2. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 104, Fig. 55. Hargreaves, *Buddha Story*, pp. 36–37, Fig. XXVIII. Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 282–83, Pl. XLVII, 2. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 125, Fig. 375. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, p. 60, Pl. 31, C. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, pp. 81, 86, Fig. 42.

Group III

- 341 HĀRITĪ. *Peshawar*, No. 1773. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C. H. 4', w. 2 1/4". The story as told by I-tsing naturally goes back to the need and desire for an explanation

of how this monster came to be associated with the Buddhist religion. According to another tradition, Hāriti was originally a *yakshī*, and the personification of the most dreaded of all infantile diseases, smallpox. The power of the Buddha changed her from a terrible scourge into a beneficent fairy, but in this image traces of her old nature appear most vividly. She is dressed in a diaphanous *sāri* with very short sleeves; a twisted belt emphasizes the slender waist, and a shawl covering the back of the head and hanging down in a graceful curve between the upper hands completes the dress. The large halo and the *urna* mark her divine rank. Like the Hindu god Siva, she has four arms. She may have borrowed from her spouse the attributes in her two upper hands: a winecup and a trident, the latter perhaps a transformation of Panchika's lance. The waterpot and the small child in the lower hands no doubt allude to her power to grant fertility to both earth and man. Two tusklike teeth projecting from the corners of her mouth are generally interpreted as rudiments from preconversion images. On a smaller scale, two donors are represented below, one on either side. Both are dressed in a costume that leaves the right shoulder and the legs bare; both are bareheaded and have thick mops of hair; cf. Nos. 255 and 285. The one on the left has his hands clasped; the other holds something in each hand, no doubt gifts to the goddess. The drapery folds of the donors are represented by the familiar groups of paired, parallel lines. As to the date, see the Introduction, p. 39.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911–12, p. 107, Pl. XLI, Fig. 16. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 135–36, Fig. 487 on p. 515. Thérèse de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, p. 125. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 43–44, 103, Pl. 4, b. Sha-

kur, *Guide*, pp. 50-51, 87-88, Pl. V, b.
Group IV

- 342 PANCHIKA AND HĀRITĪ. *Peshawar*, No. 241. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 3' 4", w. 33". Here the two are together: the powerful dispensers of both riches and fertility. Both are seated in the European way, but with the right foot on a footstool, and both are dressed like their counterparts on Nos. 338-40. The cushion on the seat has the same wavy decoration as found on the Buddha images, Nos. 245, 251, and the drapery folds show the familiar alternation between more and less accentuated ridges. Panchika's arms have both been broken; he undoubtedly held a spear in the right hand, and in the left perhaps a purse. Around the top of Hāritī's head is a wreath of leaves with a flower in the center. Five children press for her attention: at her breast a suckling infant, two at her shoulders, two at her feet, and a fifth on the left, near Panchika's right leg. All are chubby, naked, and with anklets like their mother's. On the base between two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, fourteen amorini-yakshas, accompanied by two potbellied silenī, are boxing, wrestling, and riding; the sixteen of them provide a fitting postscript to an image representing the gods of abundance and fertility.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 117, Pl. XXXII, below right. Spooner, *Handbook*, pp. 31-32, frontispiece. Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 141-43, 283, Pl. XLVIII, 1. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 44, 50-51, Pl. 7. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 135, Fig. 385 on p. 157. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, pp. 59-60, Pl. 31, B. Bachhofer, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, XIII, 1937, p. 7, n. 1. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 307, Pl. 29, A. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 50-51, 57, Pl. X. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, I, p. 135; II, Pl. 64, b. Group III

- 343 THE TUTELARY COUPLE. *Peshawar*, No. 1962. From Jamal Garhi. H. 10 1/4", w. 10 1/4". In this slightly damaged relief both the male and the female partners appear younger and slimmer, and the man wears a costume very much like the one he wears in No. 345. From two money-bags at their feet coins are streaming out, to the evident delight of the two children. This feature, too, occurs on No. 345, so there seems to be little doubt that the couple portrayed on the present relief is identical with that of No. 345.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 51. Group III

- 344 PANCHIKA AND HĀRITĪ. *Peshawar*, No. 1416. From Shah-ji-ki-Dheri. H. 14", w. 13 1/4". On this relief Panchika and Hāritī look much as they do in Nos. 338-40, 342. Panchika's left foot rests on the lower part of his spear, while Hāritī as usual has her left foot on the footstool. Both have flowers in their headdresses, and new, too, are the fruits that Hāritī holds in her right hand; cf. a relief in Berlin: Bachhofer, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 13, 1937, p. 6, Pl. 3, 1. Children crowd around them, two below, two above, and one at Hāritī's breast.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1908-09, pp. 53-54, Pl. XIV, b. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 149, Fig. 383. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 96. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 88. Group III

- 345 THE TUTELARY COUPLE. *Peshawar*, No. 78 M. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 8 3/8". This is another and better-preserved example of the couple portrayed on No. 343. The man differs in both costume and attributes from Panchika. Instead of being barefoot and wearing an Indian costume, he is dressed in an Iranian caftan and high boots reaching to just below the knee. In his right hand he holds a scepter instead of a lance, in his left a purse. His

left foot, which in No. 344 rests on the lance, is here too raised from the ground, but unsupported, floating strangely in the air. The female partner holds in her left hand a cornucopia, an attribute at first sight extremely strange, since all horn is unclean to the Indians. No children are portrayed with this couple, but the coins scattered in disarray on No. 343 are here seen on the base pouring from two overturned vases in an orderly pattern. The drapery folds are indicated by paired, parallel lines. In view of the similarities in costume and attributes between this relief and No. 343 on the one hand, and the differences between them and Nos. 338-42, 344 on the other, one suspects that two distinct couples are represented. As a matter of fact, Bachhofer in a brilliant article has shown that the present couple represents two Iranian divinities, Farro and Ardokhsho, introduced by the late Kushāns as a conscious protest against the overpowering influence of India and its religions; see *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 13, 1937, pp. 6-15. Like the old Hebrew prophets who protested against the conception that the wine and oil in Palestine were gifts of the Baals, the Canaanite gods, the Kushāns tried to substitute for Panchika and Hāriti two Iranian gods with similar powers. Bachhofer dates the introduction of the seated Ardokhsho with cornucopia to the reign of Kanishka II, one of the late Kushāns; see Introduction, p. 30. For a similar relief in Berlin, see Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 7, Pl. 3, 3. A seated goddess with cornucopia, no doubt Ardokhsho, was found in Begram in a level dated about A.D. 400; see Ghirshman, *MDAFA*, XII, 1946, pp. 78-81, Pls. XVII-XVIII.

Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 141-43, Pl. XVIII, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 161, Fig. 387. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 60. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 51, 94-95. Group III

346 THE EARTH GODDESS. *Lahore*, No. 777. H. $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". We have already met this goddess, on the occasion of Māra's attempting to prevent Siddhārta from attaining the Enlightenment (No. 62). This fragment illustrates the same episode. The earth goddess appears amid acanthi on a base that once no doubt supported a Buddha in meditation. Māra had tried to dislodge Siddhārta by physical force, but Siddhārta called the earth goddess to bear witness to his right to remain. In answer, the earth goddess first trembled in six ways, rumbled, and, "cleaving the earth which she shakes, she appears halfway out of the ground." It is evidently this last action that is represented here. Cf. also No. 400.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 38, Pl. 18, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 398-99, II, Fig. 341 on p. 73, and III, p. 841. Group III

347 DEMETER-HĀRITĪ. *Karachi*, No. -48 32. From Sirkap. H. $4\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $2\frac{7}{8}$ ". Seated on a four-legged throne is a goddess clad in chiton and himation. She holds in her left hand a cornucopia; her right hand is wrapped in the mantle, and on her head is a low polos. She may be a local version of Demeter or an early Hāriti. On stratigraphic grounds this statuette has been dated in the early first century A.D. (Hargreaves).

Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 13, Pl. VI, Fig. 11. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 192; III, Pl. 211, No. 1. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, pp. 699-700, No. 1.

349 NĀGA AND FOUR NĀGINĪS. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. $5\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $20\frac{1}{2}$ ". To the right of a straw-covered domed hut one of the tanks that house the Nāgas can be seen; cf. Nos. 56, 58. In the center of it is a Nāga king in right profile; on either side of him two Nāginīs face him with hands clasped. The king raises both his hands aloft. Group III

- 350 GARUDA AND A WOMAN VICTIM. *Labore*, No. 1045. From Sanghao. H. $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". This medallion represents the fantail crest of some Bodhisattva image; cf. No. 242. Garuda, the king of the birds and archenemy of the Nāgas, is shown flying away with a Nāgī in his talons and the serpent hood in his beak. The type may have been inspired by Leochares' "Ganymede and the Eagle." For similar crests, see de Mallmann, *Indian Arts and Letters*, XXI, 1947, p. 81, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 35, Fig. 320.

Group III

- 351 GARUDA AND FIVE VICTIMS. *Peshawar*, No. 497. H. $7\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. 6". The terrifying bird is here shown with five victims, probably all of the Nāga family, as intimated by the large serpent in the bird's beak. For a similar relief, also with five victims, in the British Museum, see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 37, Fig. 321.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 51. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 79. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 107.

Group IV

- 352 HEAD OF GARUDA. *Peshawar*, No. 913 M. H. 8", w. $9\frac{1}{4}$ ". This Garuda head no doubt comes from a relief similar to Nos. 350, 351. On false gables smaller heads of Garuda were used as lateral finials, no doubt for apotropaic reasons; cf. No. 244.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 106. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 108.

Group III

- 353 FEMALE DEITY. *Karachi*. From Sir-
-54 kap. H. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ". Except for her ornaments—anklets, hip girdle, crossed breast chain, and armlets—the deity is nude. On her head is a very low polos; her hair falls down the back in a long braid, with an unbound lock on each shoulder. As the statuette was found in stratum III, it undoubt-

edly belonged in the Indo-Parthian period. In any case, it shows no hint of the Gandhāra style; see Wheeler, *Antiquity*, XXIII, 1949, p. 10, n. 20. Cf. also Van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 19, 61–63, Nos. 21–31. A statuette of Aphrodite from Dura, also nude, shows a similar crossed breast chain; see Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le Sautoir d'Atargatis et la chaîne des amulettes*, Leiden, 1947, p. 22, Pl. XI.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1929–30, p. 95, No. 177, Pl. XVI, 1–2. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, pp. 225–26, n. 11 ("Parthian in form and motive"). Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 6–7, Pl. III, Fig. 1. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 701, No. 4. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 211, Nos. 4 a–b.

- 355 FEMALE DEITY. *Karachi*, No. 30.

-56 From Sirkap. H. $8\frac{3}{8}$ ". This figure recalls the preceding statuette, although a *sāri* covers part of the body. The hair is similarly arranged, but she has no polos, only a small circular disk at the very top of her head. She, too, has crossed breast chain and armlets, but her hip girdle is more ornamental, consisting of three rows of beads and a square clasp in front. The *sāri* falls from the left arm across the back, reappears near the middle of the right thigh, and, passing over both legs, is held by her left hand at her side; her right hand, raised to her breast, holds a lotus. The folds on the lower part of the *sāri* are rendered by a series of almost parallel, undulating lines. This may represent the same goddess who is portrayed on certain coins of Taxila with a lotus in her hand. Bachhofer has rightly characterized the figure as neither Hellenistic nor Parthian, but Kushāno-Indian. The most striking parallel I find is the bronze statuette of a goddess now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, to my mind a Sasanian work; see Introduction,

p. 37. The costume of that goddess, too, is only a bit of drapery covering the legs from a line halfway down the thighs, the end of it being held in the left hand. See Dorothy Kent Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1949, p. 98, Pl. 43, No. 216. Hargreaves dates the statuette, found in stratum II, in the early part of the first century A.D.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1919-20, p. 20, Pl. IX, 1-2. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 391-92 and Fig. 7. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le Sautoir d'Atargatis*, p. 22, Fig. 10 on p. 23. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 7, Pl. III, Figs. 2 a and b. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, 23, 1949, p. 10, n. 20. C. Kar, *Classical Indian Sculpture*, p. 33, Fig. 51. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 701, No. 3. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 211, Nos. 3 a and b.

Group II

- 357 FEMALE DEITY. *Peshawar*, No. W. U. 1016. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 12". Both in costume and in modelling Hellenistic influence is clearly discernible. The goddess is dressed in himation and a high-belted chiton which has fallen down from the right shoulder onto the upper arm. Greek also is the plastic feeling still evident in the rendering of the garments. One may cite as parallels sculptures from Hatra; see e.g. Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, p. 11, Pl. II, 2.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 59, Fig. 4.

Group I

- 358 FEMALE DEITY. *Taxila*, No. 216. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 15". The lower half of this figure is in high relief, the upper half practically in the round. The goddess, standing on a plain base, wears a chiton with overfold and a high, twisted belt just under the breasts; the chiton covers the right leg and foot, but al-

most the whole left leg is exposed, displaying a heavy anklet. Good parallels can be cited from Hatra and Dura; see Ingholt, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, 1, and Rostovtzeff and Baur, *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, II, New Haven, 1931, pp. 181-93, frontispiece. For stratigraphic reasons Hargreaves dates the figure in "probably the 1st century A.D."

Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 13-14, Pl. VIII, Fig. 15. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 254; III, Pl. 217, No. 89. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 711, No. 89.

- 359 YAKSHINĪ AND PALM TREE. *Taxila*, No. 9026. From Kālāwān, 1932. H. 7 $\frac{7}{10}$ ". A panelled pilaster, fragmentary above, is edged by a bead-and-reel molding on the three other sides. Inside, a *yakshinī* is standing on her right foot, the left leg being bent at the knee, only the toes touching the ground just behind the right foot; with her raised right hand she grasps a frond of a stylized palm tree. Her dress consists of a *dhōṭī* and a scarf draped around the shoulders and hanging free at the sides; except for a necklace, she is nude to the waist. The waterpot on three steps on which she stands is the normal base for *yakshinīs* and *yakshas* portrayed under a palm tree. On the right one can see the end of another panel, depicting the hymn of the Nāga Kālīka and his wife; cf. Nos. 56-58. For the *yakshinī's* action see Vogel, *Acta Orientalia*, VII, 1928, pp. 201 ff. Excavation No. KN-32.

Group III

- 360 YAKSHINĪ AND PALM TREE. *Lahore*, No. 2364. H. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The *yakshinī* is similar to the one in 359, but the panel has a beaded edge. The *yakshinī* stands on a rectangular base and wears, in addition to the anklet, the characteristic lyre-shaped necklace; cf. at Hatra that of

Princess ŠPRY; see Introduction, p. 27, and Pl. VII, 2. Group III

- 361 YAKSHINĪ. *Peshawar*, No. 2073. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 15", w. 5 1/8". This panel has the same waterpot base as No. 359. Armed with spear and shield, the *yakshinī* is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, and from the waist to the knees the himation is arranged as a skirt. In addition to the lyre-shaped necklace she wears anklets like the Yavanis on No. 39. Group III

- 362 YAKSHINĪ WITH LOTUS AND PARAKEET. *Peshawar*, No. N. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 13 3/8", w. 6". In her right hand she holds lotus flowers, while a parakeet perches on her left arm. On the left a *yakshinī* stands inside a narrow, rectangular panel, her feet on the waterpot base, her head supporting the Indo-Persepolitan bull capital. On the right, set in a recessed, rectangular frame is a fragment of an unidentified scene.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 78. Group III

- 363 GANDHARVĪ. *Lahore*, No. 77. W. 10 3/8". In the goddess portrayed here, seated on a lion, we may recognize a *gandharvī*, a female music-making genius. She is playing the so-called *vinā*, a lute of oval shape. For musical instruments in Gandhāra, see Marcel-Dubois, *Les Instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1941, p. 81.

According to V. A. Smith (*JASB*, LVIII, Pt. 1, 1889, p. 197), this sculpture was mentioned as early as 1861, in a report by Loewenthal, published in *Proceedings Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1861, p. 411. Burgess, *JAI*, VIII, 1900, pp. 39-40, Pl. 22, 3. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 105, Fig. 56 (identifies her with the goddess Sarasvati). Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 66, Fig. 340 on p. 71. Group III

- 364 YAKSHINĪ. *Lahore*, No. 1958. H. 22", w. 9 1/4". A *yakshinī* stands inside a rectangular panel with bead-and-reel molding. Her right hand rests on her hip; her left is held before her mouth, in what looks like a hesitating gesture. Above her head is the regular Indo-Persepolitan bull capital, but between the beaded neck and the body of the normal waterpot no less than three inverted-lotus moldings have been inserted. Group III

- 365 GANDHARVA PLAYS THE FLUTE. *Lahore*, No. 238. H. 7 3/8", w. 5". In this panel a *gandharva*, facing right, and standing on the waterpot base, plays the flute. He is dressed in a sleeved tunic reaching to the knees. Behind and above his head is a stylized palm tree similar to the one on No. 359. To the right are remains of an unidentified scene. See also Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 20-22.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 28 and Fig. 316 (only the *gandharva* panel). Group III

- 366 FOUR KINNARAS AMONG LOTUS FLOWERS. *Karachi*, No. 1860. H. 10 3/8", w. 13 1/2". Another kind of genii are the so-called *kinnaras*, who are human above, foliage below. Four of them can be seen clearly here, and there are remains of a fifth at the extreme left. The one in the middle holds an oval object in his hands, one on either side carries a canopy, and the last complete figure to the right has his hands clasped. The central *kinnara*, as well as the one to the right, has a fantail crest with tapering tenon; the two others wear princely headdresses more like, for example, those on No. 405. Above the *kinnaras* are large stylized flowers. This fragment no doubt came from some such relief as No. 255, on which *kinnaras* hover above the head of a teaching Buddha and the genii crowning him. For *kinnaras*, see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 20-22.

Deydier, *Contribution*, title page (central part only). Foucher, *Vies antérieures*, p. 188, Fig. 28, 2.

Group III

367 GANDHARVĪ WITH MUSICAL INSTRUMENT. *Peshawar*, No. 2076.

H. $15\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. $4\frac{7}{8}$ ". Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. Inside a panelled pilaster like No. 361, with palm branches above and waterpot base below, a *gandharvī* is portrayed holding in her hand the *vinā*. She is dressed in chiton and himation, the latter reaching to her knees, the former covering all but her toes. The folds of the chiton recall those of the ladies at Palmyra and Hatra; see Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, pp. 8-11, Pls. I, 2-3, and II, 3.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 69, Fig. 339 bis.

Group III

368 TWO KINNARAS. *Labore*, No. 2365.

H. $10\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ". Two *kinnaras* are portrayed, the one on the right carrying a canopy. The fragment obviously came from a context similar to that of No. 366.

Group III

369 AMORINO AND PALM TREE. *Labore*, No. 963. From Karamar.

H. $9\frac{1}{8}$ ". A chubby amorino, his face turned slightly to the left, here stands under the stylized palm tree, touching it with his right hand, his left hand at his breast. The right leg is slightly bent, the left leg straight and supporting. The amorino probably is portrayed in a dancing attitude, as apparently is another on No. 370.

Group III

370 AMORINO AND PALM TREE.

Taxila, No. 523. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $9\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. $2\frac{7}{8}$ ". Under the usual palm tree an amorino is portrayed in left profile dancing, one hand lifted, the other lowered. Only the toes of his left foot

touch the base, whereas the right foot seems firmly placed on it. For the other side, see No. 371.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, pp. 707-08, No. 63.

Group III

371 AMORINO AND PALM TREE.

Taxila, No. 523. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $9\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. $2\frac{7}{8}$ ". On this the reverse side of No. 370 an amorino kneels touching one leaf of the palm tree with his raised right hand. Of the waterpot, only the top has been preserved.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 708, No. 64.

Group III

372 TWO AMORINI. *Labore*, No. 996.

From Nuttu. H. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". On an Indo-Corinthian pilaster two amorini, nude but for necklaces and anklets, stand on a ledge, holding flowers in their right hands, the left resting on their hips. One is facing front; the other turns his head to the right.

Group III

373 TWO AMORINI. *Labore*, No. 972.

From Nuttu. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 3". On another, similar pilaster two amorini are portrayed, their heads turned toward one another, but arrayed and placed as on No. 372.

Group III

374 AMORINI WITH GARLANDS. *Labore*, No. 1808.

H. $4\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. $14\frac{1}{8}$ ". On this fragment four amorini support an undulating garland on their shoulders. At the bottom of each loop are three fruitlike objects, probably stylized grapes, and above them a lotus flower, except over the central loop, where a bird sits looking right. The foliage of the garland varies, each loop carrying a different design. The poses of the amorini differ; all are nude but for anklets. For a similar garland, see the fragment published by Buchthal, *TOCS*, 19, 1942-43, p. 22,

Pl. I, c, and below, on No. 468. For the motif, see below under No. 380.

Group III

- 375 AMORINI, GARLANDS, WOMEN WITH FLOWERS. *Lahore*, No. 1812. H. 6", w. 24". Whereas in the preceding sculpture the two halves of each loop between the amorini were identical, here they differ, but in such a way that the two halves carried by each amorino are of the same design. The amorini recall in their poses and anklets those of No. 374. Within each loop is a female bust with flowers in the right hand. Attached to the lowest, central part of each loop are the three fruitlike objects seen on No. 374; here they do not, however, touch the ground.

Group III

- 376 AMORINI, GARLANDS, WINGED FEMALE FIGURES. *Lahore*, No. 1184. From Charsadda Mound. H. 6½", w. 31¾". In this fragment each loop is bound by ribbons with flowing ends. As in the preceding piece, the two halves of a loop carried on the shoulder of an amorino are identical. Above each loop a winged female figure appears; at the bottom are the same three fruitlike objects, similarly arranged. On the right, in a small panel by itself, is a stylized honeysuckle; cf. No. 5.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 39, Pl. 18, 4. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 239, Fig. 118.

Group III

- 377 AMORINI, GARLANDS, BIRD, YOUTHS. *Gai Collection*, *Peshawar*. H. 6½", w. 33". All the loops preserved on this fragment are of the same design. The figures within the loops, however, differ. In the central loop it is a bird in left profile; in the two flanking loops it is a half-figure of a youth holding a rectan-

gular object. The amorini, too, vary. The first four from the right are nude, except for necklace, bracelets, and anklets; the one at the extreme left is dressed in a sleeved tunic and skirt. At least numbers three and four from the right have small topknots on their heads. The three fruitlike objects under the loops are complete only at the bottom of the two loops to the right. Two of the three objects are surely grapes. The third in one case is a stylized fruit such as seen on No. 374; in the other it is clearly a vine leaf, as on a similar frieze from Taxila; see Buchthal, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Pl. I, a.

Group III

- 378 AMORINI, GARLANDS, YOUTHS WITH FLOWERS. *Peshawar*, No. 508. H. 12¼", w. 3' 11". This garland follows the same decorative scheme for the loops as Nos. 375, 376. Within the loops are female half-figures with flowers, and at each end of the garland a parakeet perches. Attached to the center of each section are stylized ribbons. Besides the necklaces, bracelets, and anklets, the amorini here also have ear ornaments.

Vogel, *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 158, Fig. 2 (top photograph only). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 8, n. 1, Pl. 2, b. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 8, Pl. III, b. Bernet Kempers, in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, VI, 2, Munich, 1954, p. 475, Pl. 71, 1.

Group III

- 380 AMORINI, GARLANDS, BIRDS, CHILDREN, YOUTHS, AND WINGED FEMALE FIGURE. *Karachi*, No. 568. From Kunala Monastery, Taxila. H. 7½", w. 15". The upper molding is decorated by a saw-tooth design, below which is the horizontal stalk known from Nos. 75 and 189. The loops of this garland present a third scheme of decoration. The first loop from the right

has the same leaf design in its two halves, but in the next loop the two halves between the amorini differ. A similar arrangement is found on two loops from a garlanded sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; see J. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 211, Pl. XLVII, 2. Within the first loop the bust of a winged woman, facing front, can be seen, in the next the busts of a man and a woman both in three-quarter view. A cluster of grapes hangs from the bottom of each loop; the one to the left is being pecked at by birds, while two small children seated on the ground are picking the grapes to the right. The motif of garland-carrying amorini is well known from both the Western and the Eastern Roman Empire. Garlands with grapes hanging from the bottom of the loops were characteristic of the East, and often appear on sarcophagi from the Hadrianic and Antonine periods; see Buchthal, *op. cit.*, Nos. 23, 24. To his examples from Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria, I should like to add three sculptures pertinent in this connection: two from Palestine, one from Syria. One is a sarcophagus with festoons, grapes, and amorini from Tell Barak; see Introduction, p. 27, and Pl. VI, 1. Another is a sarcophagus from Beirut, dated A.D. 133, with festoons and grapes, but with bucrania instead of amorini; see Mouterde, *Mélanges Université Saint Joseph*, XXVI, 1944-46, pp. 41-43, Pl. II, 1. The last is a small bowl from Dura decorated with kneeling amorini carrying a garland; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art*, Oxford, 1938, p. 149, n. 54, and Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, No. 15. The motif of birds pecking grapes is found in both Rome and Palmyra; see Ingholt, *Berytus*, V, 1938, pp. 139-40, Pl. L, 2-3. Although the garland-carrying amorini came from lands west of Gandhāra, they were rap-

idly Indianized, as one can easily see on our Nos. 374-80, by their fleshiness and jewelry; see, for example, Buchthal, *TOCS*, 19, 1942-43, pp. 22-25. Likewise, the sectional differentiation in the decoration of the continuous loops, as found on Nos. 374-76, 378-80, is obviously a local development from such sarcophagi as the one in New York mentioned above, on which each festoon is arranged separately.

Buchthal, *op. cit.*, p. 23, Pl. 3, a. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, XXIII, 1949, p. 7, Pl. V, A. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, 1954, p. 161, Pl. XXXIII.

Group III

- 381 ATLANTES. *Peshawar*, No. 1323. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 8", w. 20 3/8". Under a saw-tooth molding, six winged Atlantes, all unbearded, can be seen in a variety of seated postures. For parallels, see under No. 387.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 51, Pl. XV, b. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 149 bottom. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 93. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 81. Group III (II)

- 382 ATLAS. *Peshawar*, No. 1496. H. 9", w. 8 1/2". The wide-open eyes of this winged, unbearded Atlas have a decidedly pathetic look; an incised circle indicates the iris.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 96. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 81. Group III (II)

- 383 ATLAS. *Labore*, No. 58. From Nathu Monastery. H. 5 1/4", w. 5". To this winged, youthful Atlas, too, the sculptor has tried to give some facial expression, the deeply set eyes giving him a slight tinge of sadness. The pose, the right leg in a vertical, the left in a horizontal position, is found also in No. 385.

Group III (II)

- 384 **ATLAS.** *Labore*, No. 1301. H. 6", w. 5½". This mustached Atlas is in a similar pose, but is looking to the right, wistfully perhaps. Around his head he seems to have a foliate wreath. Group III (II)

- 385 **ATLAS.** *Peshawar*, No. 322. H. 21¾". Seated in the same pose as No. 383, but more erect, this winged Atlas has rather deeply set eyes, and radiates more dynamic energy than any of his colleagues. He, too, has a wreath around his head; hair and beard are rendered in corkscrew curls.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 74. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 104. Group III (II)

- 386 **ATLAS.** *Peshawar*, No. 694. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 10½", w. 9". The wings are rather summarily indicated in the left background. This figure, likewise bearded, rests his left hand on his knee, while the right hand seemingly supports the molding above him. The flat nose and rather oblique eyes give a strange look to the face, which otherwise would not be unlike that of Heracles.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 83. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 96-97. Group III (II)

- 387 **ATLAS.** *Labore*, No. 2118. From Sikri. H. 9⅞". Easily the most impressive of the Atlantes, this figure clearly reflects Heracles in hair, beard, and facial expression. The slightly exaggerated abdominal muscles make one think of Pergamon. Cf. a similar Atlas in Calcutta: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 209, Fig. 87. For parallels to Nos. 381-87 one may mention not only the well-known crouching silenoi from the Neronian stage front of the Dionysos theater in Athens (see Herbig, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, II, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 59, Pl. V, 1) but also the pillar from a late Antonine peristyle at Ascalon, on which a small, nude Atlas supports a winged Victory; see

Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, II, Leipzig, 1935, p. 97, Pl. 31, Fig. 71. Atlantes similar to Nos. 381-87, but in stucco, have been found in profusion supporting the tiers of the stupa plinths; cf. at Jauliān: Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 525; III, Pl. 157, a. Group III (II)

- 388 **ICHTHYOCENTAUR.** *Peshawar*, No. 14, L. H. 7½", w. 12". From the West, too, comes the idea of this marine monster—except for Gandhāra, unknown in Indian mythology. It has been given the special name of ichthyocentaur, fish-centaur, although the nonhuman part is actually more complicated, having wings, leonine feet, and the tail of a dragon. Cf. a similar relief in the British Museum.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 243, Fig. 123. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 11, 106, Pl. 8, a. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 12, Pl. XI, a.

Group III (II)

- 389 **FEMALE HIPPOCAMP AND ICHTHYOCENTAUR.** *Labore*, No. 964. From Karamar. H. 8½", w. 16". In this triangular panel the sculptor has tried his hand at a group composition. On the left a female hippocamp, with the body of a horse, the tail of a dragon, twines its tail around that of an ichthyocentaur, here rendered with real horses' hoofs. She offers him a drink from a cup, tenderly putting her left arm around his neck.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 241, Fig. 120.

Group III

- 390 **TRITONS AND AMORINI.** *Labore*, No. 1183. From Charsadda Mound. H. 7", w. 26". This frieze of tritons likewise recalls Pergamon. Three of the figures have been preserved; the one in the center is young and unbearded; his neighbor to the right has beard, whiskers, and mustache; the one on the left has long, flowing hair

and appears to hold a bowl to his mouth with his right hand. Between the tritons two amorini-yakshas can be seen, and at the extreme left the outline of a third. In a separate panel on the right is a lotus pot; cf. Foucher, *MAI*, No. 46, 1934, Pl. V, 5, text on opposite page.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 40, Pl. 22, 4. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 245, Fig. 124.

Group III

- 391 CENTAUR. *Labore*, No. 1953. H. 4" (torso), w. 7½". Another mythological trapping, borrowed from the West, is represented by this male centaur who once decorated the base of a stūpa. Cf. a relief in Berlin with two centaurs: Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, I, p. 20, Pl. 17, b.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 211, Fig. 88, c.

Group I (II)

- 392 RIVER GOD. *Taxila*, No. 42. H. 7⅞", w. 14⅛". Presented by Sir John Marshall to Taxila Museum. This statuette of green stone portrays a reclining, bearded male figure looking to the left, his legs to the right, the left bent at the knee. In front to the left lies an animal, facing left. In his right hand, resting on the back of the animal, the male figure holds what is probably a cornucopia rather than a stylized reed. The group suggests a river god with emblematic animal, here presumably a dog or a lion rather than a sphinx. In general, the reclining fluvial divinities have their legs to the left, but there are examples in the same pose as our god, as, for example, the statue of Jordan, on the arch of Titus; see S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains*, I, Paris, 1909, p. 275, No. 2. Also in the same position we find, for example, the river Belos on a coin of Akka, in Palestine, with a reed in the left hand (see Imhoof-Blumer, *Revue Suisse numismatique*, XXIII, 1923, p. 371, Pl. XV, 19), and the

Nile on a coin of Alexandria, with cornucopia in the left hand, the right holding a reed and resting on the head of a sphinx (see Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 390, Pl. XVI, 20). For the Euphrates and the Tigris similarly portrayed on coins, see Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Halle, 1926, p. 114, Pl. 76, 7-8.

Dutta Gupta, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 2, p. 267, Pl. CLIV, b.

Group I (II)

- 393 MARINE BULL. *Labore*, No. 83 A. H. 8½", w. 10½". Within a triangular panel a bull with the coiled tail of a dragon adds another example to the number of hybrid monsters.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 241, Fig. 119.

Group III (II)

- 394 WINGED DRAGON. *Labore*, No. 1361. From Sikri. H. 7⅛". A worthy counterpart to No. 393 is this imaginary creature whose crocodile face is that of a *makara*; see No. 484. For these monsters, see Vogel, *RAA*, VI, 1929-30, pp. 133-47; Auboyer, *Le Trône et son symbolisme*, pp. 117-25; and Lindsay, *JRAS*, 1951, pp. 134, 138.

Group III (II)

- 395 TRITONS. *Peshawar*, No. 2055. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. 8⅞", w. 16¾". Between the leonine feet of a base two tritons are carrying on a conversation. The one on the right places his left hand on the coils of his left leg, and in his right hand grasps his tail just above its bushy end. For similar tritons see Meunié, *Shotorak*, p. 64, Nos. 193 and 192, Pl. XXXVII, Nos. 119 and 118.

Group III (II)

- 396 AMORINI AND LION. *Peshawar*, No. 1948. From Palatu Dheri, near Char-sadda. H. 7¾", w. 12". Two yaksha-amorini are portrayed with a lionlike ani-

mal, exaggeratedly slender, its tail foliate. One amorino stands in front, giving the terrifying animal a drink, while the other sits on its back, about to drink, himself.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 93. Group III (II)

- 397 DIONYSIAC SCENE. *Lahore*, No. 1493. W. 30 1/4". Like Alexander the Great, Dionysos, too, extended his campaigns to the East, and his triumphant progress in India is known from both literature and sculpture. This relief bears witness to the god's visit by the presence of a number of his acolytes, just as if "he had forgotten them in the distant valley where tradition located his Indian birthplace, the famous Nysa" (Foucher). Separated by vinestocks, four different scenes are represented, all shaded by the overhanging leaves springing from the vines. In the center the fat, nude Silenus is riding on a lion, while a maenad dressed in long chiton feeds this rather incongruous mount. On the right a man is standing in a rectangular vat, which, like the one on No. 175, gives forth a fresh supply of the god's own beverage. On the left a bearded man, fully clothed, puts his left arm around the shoulder of another maenad, and at the extreme left two naked amorini play with a lion or panther, trying to make it drink from a krater. Cf. a relief in the Louvre: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 251, Fig. 128.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 39, Pl. 4, 4. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 151, Fig. 103. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 246, Fig. 129 on p. 251. Group III (II)

- 398 DRINKING SCENE. *Lahore*, No. 1914. H. 9 3/8", w. 20". Between two leonine feet of a base two women are seated, both shown in right profile. Over breast and back they wear the same crossed bands noted on the goddesses of Nos. 353 and 355. Their only costume is a *sāri*

which covers the lower part of the body and leaves at least the entire back exposed. With her left hand, the smiling woman on the left fans her male partner, who is offering her a drink from a shallow bowl. He is bearded, and his forehead is bound with a wreath of vine leaves. On the right the other woman sits on the knee of her young, unbearded companion, laying her right hand on his shoulder. Between the couples one sees the traces of a fifth person, perhaps a servant, as on a similar relief in Berlin; see Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, I, p. 20, Pl. 16, a.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 40, Pl. 22, 7. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 150, Fig. 102. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 246, 248, Fig. 130 on p. 261. Bernet Kempers, in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, VI, 2, 1954, p. 475, n. 1, Pl. 71, 2. Group III

- 399 MUSICIANS AND DANCERS. *Lahore*, No. 234. H. 6 3/8", w. 25 3/8". Probably all the musicians and dancers here represented are either Nāgas or Nāgīs, the characteristic serpent hoods being clearly discernible behind the heads of some of them. The relief thus furnishes another example of the fondness the Nāgas evidently had for dancing and music; see, e.g., the relief in Princeton: Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandhāran Sculpture*, No. 25, and a relief in Musée Guimet: Hackin, *Guide-Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, Pl. III, a. On this relief the king is standing on the extreme right before an incense altar; see No. 290, and a relief in the Louvre: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 263, Fig. 137. On his right a Nāgī holds a bowl from which the king takes grains of incense to sprinkle on the altar, and next to her another Nāgī, probably the queen, clasps her hands in adoration. To the left of this sacrificial scene eight other persons are portrayed: two groups of three musicians and between

them two female dancers. On the left the three musicians are playing the tambourine, the flute, and the drum, and on the right one flute player is flanked by two drummers. No doubt both music and dancing were part of the religious service performed at the extreme right. Parallel, paired lines on the robe of the king indicate the drapery folds.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 256, Fig. 132 on p. 253. Group III-IV

Donors and Worshippers

400 ROYAL FEMALE DONOR. *Peshawar*, No. 1427. From Sahri Bahlol. H. 5' 3". The richly clad lady holds in her hands a model of a triple-arched building, doubtless a monastery; cf. No. 471. The careful modelling, the wealth of jewelry, and especially the fact that the earth goddess is portrayed on the base, raising her hands as if to support her, make it practically certain that the statue immortalizes a royal donor. Across the forehead she wears a jewelled fillet, in the center of which a roughly cut dowel marks the place of a lost ornament, probably a crest like No. 242. Above the fillet her hair is dressed in rather high, wavy strands, whereas below the fillet a row of locks with sharp vertical divisions borders the forehead, ending in front of either ear in a corkscrew curl. Besides a necklace with circular pendant and a broad armlet with nine parallel bands, her jewelled finery includes three bracelets, finger rings on the thumb and two other fingers on each hand, and a double chain that hangs down front and back from the left shoulder and reaches almost to the right ankle, where the ends are fastened with an elaborate clasp. In all these ornaments gold and precious stones without doubt played an

essential part. Above the waist she is dressed in a robe with very short sleeves, made of such thin material that it almost looks as if she were nude to the waist. The skirt, the *dhoti*, is evidently of much heavier cloth. The costume is completed by a shawl, one end of which can be seen behind the left leg. It passes over the left arm at the elbow, crosses the back and continues across the body from the right knee to end in a graceful loop over the left forearm. The shawl is rendered in a distinctly plastic way; the drapery folds of shawl and *dhoti* show an alternation of more and less accentuated ridges. For the date of this statue, it is of importance that with the statue two Sasanian coins were found, apparently local imitations of those of King Shapur II (A.D. 309-80). According to Spooner, the head No. 423 originally belonged to a statue that was a companion piece to this one; see under No. 423.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 61, Pl. XXII, a. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 53-54, Pl. IX, b. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 82, Fig. 39. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 60-61, Pl. XII, b. Group III

401 FEMALE DONOR. *Peshawar*, No. 1767. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C. H. 19", w. 7". This female donor holds in her hands a bowl, emblematic of her gift. On each shoulder a lock of hair can be seen, just under the elongated ear lobes. The absence of any jewels is very striking—perhaps they were all sold for the benefit of the Buddha. Her costume is the so-called *dupatta*, evidently made up of a pleated lower part and a transparent upper part that reaches to the middle of the thighs and through which the patterned undergarment is revealed. A shawl covers her shoulders and back, the ends hanging down inside the elbow.

- Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 107, Pl. XLI, Fig. 13. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 102-03. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, pp. 82, 84, Fig. 45. Group IV
- 402 KNEELING WOMAN WITH BOWL. *Taxila*, No. 359. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $7\frac{1}{4}$ ". A kneeling woman, facing left, is holding a rather large bowl containing at least one smaller bowl and a couple of spherical objects. Group III
- 403 WORSHIPPERS IN PRINCELY COSTUME. *Lahore*, No. 155. H. $15\frac{1}{4}$ ". Three princely figures seem to stand on foliage, the flanking ones with clasped hands, the central figure playing the *vinā*. Above them other leaves border the descending line of their heads. Group III
- 404 MEN IN PRINCELY COSTUME. *Lahore*, No. 1037. From Upper Nathu Monastery. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". Two young men in princely costume are conversing. The turbaned one on the left holds a round object in his raised right hand; the other raises his right hand, the palm facing forward; cf. No. 37. H. Cole, *Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures*, Pl. 18, below left. Burgess, *AMI*, p. 9, Pl. 117, No. 3. The relief as illustrated in these two publications comprised two more princely persons on the left. Group III
- 405 DONORS IN PRINCELY COSTUME. *Lahore*, No. 106. H. 16", w. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". Two princes are conversing here, too, the one to the right probably raising his right hand in argumentation, the other holding a gift bowl; above and behind the latter a third prince can be seen standing. Burgess, *JLAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 40, Pl. 22, 6. Group III
- 406 DONORS IN PRINCELY COSTUME. *Lahore*, No. 2302. From Sikri. H. $11\frac{3}{4}$ ". Under a lotus-leaf molding three princes stand: one with clasped hands, looking left; next to him, facing front, a man with *ushnīsha* and earrings. Between and above them a third prince in left profile is scattering flowers. On the right, on an Indo-Corinthian pilaster is a seated meditating Buddha on the lotus seat, hands covered, as on a relief in Boston; see Edwards, *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1954, p. 112 and Fig. 17. Group III
- 407 TWO YOUTHS CONVERSING. *Karachi*, No. 1349 (Peshawar number). H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". The two young men have been portrayed according to the scheme seen on Nos. 404, 405, with the difference that the one with the gift fruits in a bowl here stands on the right, the gesticulating one on the left. The *ushnīshas* and the heavy earrings indicate princely rank. Paired, incised lines characterize the drapery folds. Group IV
- 408 WORSHIPPERS IN PRINCELY COSTUME. BORDER RELIEF. *Lahore*, No. 1756. H. $19\frac{1}{2}$ ". From a relief like No. 166 come this and the following two border reliefs. In this fragment a running pattern of acanthus leaves decorates a border of three superimposed, rectangular panels, containing from top to bottom two monks, two Brahman novices, and two princes, all looking right. Of these worshippers the inner monk, both novices, and the outer prince have their hands clasped; the outer monk has his right hand raised, with the palm inwards, and the inner prince is about to scatter flowers. Group III
- 409 WORSHIPPERS IN PRINCELY COSTUME. BORDER RELIEF. *Taxila*, No. 486. From Dharmarājikā

Stūpa. H. $22\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. $7\frac{3}{4}$ ". This relief is arranged in four bands, differently decorated. From right to left one sees first a leaf-and-dart molding, then a sunk checker. The next band contains five rectangular compartments framed by Indo-Corinthian pilasters. In each compartment two princes are portrayed in various attitudes, some scattering flowers, others with clasped hands. In each of the six smaller compartments that make up the last row one figure only is represented. Four of them seem to be amorini; the remaining two may belong in the same category, although they are clothed, one in a long, the other in a short, chiton. Alternately their hands are either clasped or the left hand is at the side and the right hand holds a fruit.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 704, No. 22.
Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 214, No. 22.

Group III

- 410 WORSHIPPERS IN PRINCELY COSTUME. BORDER RELIEF. *Labore*, No. 1616. H. 16". On the left of this fragment six small compartments are preserved, each with an amorino looking left and holding flowers in his right hand. Of the larger compartments to the right, only one remains; in this, a prince stands, looking left, with flowers in his right hand. The bases of all compartments are decorated with a saw-tooth pattern.

Group III

- 411 DONORS. STAIR-RISER RELIEF. *Peshawar*, No. II (or JJ). Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $17\frac{5}{8}$ ". This and the following three reliefs, all of soapstone, were employed as stair risers. The present relief shows five women, dressed in high-belted chiton and himation, attended by four servants offering them drinks from tall goblets. All but one of the servants are dressed in tunics, reaching to the knees, leaving the right shoulder bare.

The servant standing in the center is nude to the waist, the lower part of his body covered by a himation. One distinguished scholar termed the women and their servants male and female drinkers, attributing to the relief a Bacchic character, related to that of a relief like No. 397 (Foucher). To my mind the genuinely sober atmosphere of the scene is unfavorable to such an interpretation, and it is, I think, at least strange that the male "drinkers" all would play the parts of servants. It is true that Vajrapāni on some reliefs of early date is dressed in the same costume as the servants (cf. Nos. 59, 99, 137), but that is because he is there playing the role of one; see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 50. Three other reliefs represent servants, similarly dressed, offering drinks to women who are attired like those on our relief. One is in the collection of Professor Rowland (see his *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 82-83, Pl. 36, where the relief is labelled "Presentation of the Bride to Siddhārta"). The second is in the British Museum (see Buchthal, *Burlington Magazine*, 86, 1945, p. 69, Pl. I, F), and the third is in Cleveland (see Hollis, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XVII, 1930, pp. 192-93, fig. on p. 197 above). All three reliefs include details not found here. On the Rowland relief a woman and a servant both carry palm branches over their left shoulders. In the British Museum panel an elderly man is portrayed in the center, dressed in chiton and himation and flanked by a woman on either side. A servant standing next to the woman on his right seems to have flowers in his lifted right hand. On the Cleveland relief one woman has a palm branch over her left shoulder, one servant seems to play the drum, and another carries a wineskin over his shoulders. It is most natural, I think, to see in the persons represented on these reliefs men and women who had con-

tributed in some way or other to the Buddhist buildings in which the stair risers were found. The donors are portrayed performing the obligatory rites, or partaking in a sacrificial meal. Common to all four reliefs is the prevalence of the Greek costume of the donors, and the neutral background of the whole. There is no overlapping, no second plane. For the date, see Introduction, p. 26.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 246, Fig. 131 on p. 253. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 395, Fig. 12. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 103. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131 (dated A.D. 25-50). Group I

- 412 DONORS. STAIR-RISER RELIEF. *Karachi*, No. 22 L (Peshawar number). H. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $13\frac{5}{8}$ ". On this and the following two reliefs we have, I think, no servants represented, but instead male and female donors, dressed in princely costume. In this panel three women and three men are represented, five with flowers in their hands, one with fruits. Instead of the Hellenistic costume seen on No. 411, both men and women wear the Indian dress, *dbotī* and shawl; cf., e.g., Nos. 294 and 359. As to the transparent overgarments of the women, I may refer to the remarks made in No. 116. Two similar reliefs confirm the interpretation given above: one in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, the other in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden (No. 2207-1). In both the same number of male and female donors is represented: on the Leiden panel five with flowers, one with fruits; on the Toronto relief, four with flowers, two standing in the center empty-handed. For the date, see Introduction, p. 26.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 106. C. Kar, *Classical Indian Sculpture*, p. 34, Fig. 55. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 14. Group I

- 413 DONORS. STAIR-RISER RELIEF. *Peshawar*, No. 23 L. H. $6\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $16\frac{1}{2}$ ". Five donors stand with flowers in their hands, one female without attributes. At the extreme right an Indo-Corinthian half-column, set in a rectangular frame, has been preserved. Similar half-columns frame the scenes in the panels mentioned above from the Rowland and Cleveland collections, as well as the panels from Leiden and Toronto; see No. 411.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 106. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 104. Group I

- 414 DONORS. STAIR-RISER RELIEF. *Peshawar*, No. 24 L. H. $6\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. 19". On this panel both of the framing Indo-Corinthian half-columns are preserved. All six donors here have flowers in their hands. The two groups of panels (see Nos. 411 and 412-14) are so similar in composition and style that they must be nearly contemporary; see also Introduction, p. 26.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 11, 106, Pl. 8, b. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 104, Pl. XI, b.

Group I

- 415 DONOR WITH BOWL. *Peshawar*, No. 1770. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C. H. $25\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $12\frac{1}{4}$ ". The square, wrinkled, and mustached face of this male donor is evidently a portrait, and an excellent one. The hair is short-cropped, but the crown of the head is tonsured, except for a little tuft in the center; in the ears there were once rings. He is dressed in a long-sleeved undergarment that is visible on the right shoulder and on the left forearm, and probably was made of some woollen material. The rest of the body is covered by his robe. The right forearm is missing; it had evidently been attached separately. The left arm hangs at his side, the left hand holding a richly decorated bowl. The arrangement of the hair and his costume

point to a non-Gandhāran origin for this impressive donor. The drapery folds are rendered partly by rather thin ridges, some more accentuated than others, and partly by shallow grooves.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 107, Pl. XLI, Fig. 14. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 151 right. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 103. Group III

- 416 FEMALE DONOR. *Lahore*, No. 1315. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C. H. 14 3/4". This woman held in her hands some object, emblematic of her gift. Like her male counterpart, No. 415, she seems very warmly dressed, having, besides the shawl, which covers most of the body, an undergarment of similar material visible on the chest and under the left arm, and a second thick undergarment, which can be seen on both forearms and recalls that of the male donor above. From the lobes of her ears hang very heavy earrings. Group III

- 417 DONOR IN IRANIAN COSTUME. *Peshawar*, No. 1769. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D, 1912. H. 10 3/8". Carrying in his left hand a floral offering, this headless statuette gives a most interesting example of the Indo-Scythian costume that we have already seen several times; cf., e.g., Nos. 153, 338, 339. The caftan is visibly longer at the sides than at the center and has a beaded decoration around the neck down the front to the waist, and down the front of the trouser legs. The beaded line on the left breast no doubt indicates a fastening of the caftan; see also a similar arrangement in Palmyra and Dura: Ingholt, *Berytus*, II, 1935, p. 80 and n. 121, Pl. XXXVII, 2. The decorated belt recalls that on a Gandhāra sculpture now in the Port Arthur Museum, Japan (cf. the Japanese catalogue, Pl. 119, 1 and 3), and those seen on the Parthian sculptures from Hatra (see, e.g., Naji al Asil, *ILN*, Dec., 1954, p.

1160, Fig. 1). The folds on the arms are of the paired, parallel kind.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 103. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 61-62. Group IV

- 418 MONK AND DONORS IN IRANIAN COSTUME. *Peshawar*, No. 1722. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D, 1912. H. 5", w. 7 1/4". On this fragment a monk on the left holds a floral offering in his left hand, as in Nos. 415 and 417. He is followed by two men in the Iranian costume, the first holding a huge bowl and with trousers decorated with small squares down the front of the trouser legs, the second with hands clasped. Paired, parallel lines indicate the drapery folds.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 90. Group IV

- 419 WORSHIPPERS IN IRANIAN COSTUME. BORDER RELIEF. *Taxila*, No. 487. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 26 1/2", w. 8 3/8". In this fragment of a border relief (cf. Nos. 408-10) the three small rectangular compartments are framed on the left by superimposed lotus flowers, on the right by a bead-and-reel ornament alternating with a foliate pattern, and, on the outer edge, by a leaf-and-dart molding. In each compartment two men in princely costume are portrayed. Most interesting are the two in the second panel, of whom the one to the left seems to wear the same blouse with a V-opening at the neck and a pair of leggings over his trousers as the Parthian bronze statue from Shamī; see Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, III, pp. 9-12, plate facing p. 12.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 704, No. 23. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 214, No. 23.

Group III

- 420 WORSHIPPERS IN UNUSUAL COSTUMES. *Peshawar*, No. 1551. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D, 1913. H. 7 3/4", w. 5 3/4". Two worshippers stand with clasped

hands, looking left. The one on the left wears a caftan with beaded decoration similar to No. 417, but instead of trousers he wears a skirt, reaching to just above the knees and decorated with vertical rows of horizontal, curved lines. Like a Scotsman, he seems to combine the kilt with knee-length stockings similar to those worn by the male divinity on No. 345. His companion seems to be dressed in a *dhōṭī* only; a floral garland draped over the shoulders passes between the arms and the body and hangs down in front to the knees. Paired, parallel lines indicate the drapery folds on the *dhōṭī*.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 98. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 90. Group IV

- 421 MAN IN IRANIAN COSTUME. *Peshawar*, No. 342. H. $16\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". On an Indo-Corinthian pilaster a bare-headed laic stands on a lotus pedestal, his right hand raised. He is dressed in a belted caftan and trousers that reach to midway between knee and ankle; cf. the worshippers on No. 303. Group III

- 422 DOWAGER AND MAN WITH BOWL. *Taxila*, No. 528. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 15", w. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". From this fragment one gets one of the comparatively rare glimpses of humor in Gandhāra sculpture. On the right a woman, dressed in chiton and himation, faces a man who wears a tunic or shirt reaching to his knees, and holding a two-handled bowl. He is bald-headed, but not shaven. A similar costume is worn in the Amaravati sculptures by attendants only, grooms or guards, so the man here portrayed may be a servant attending his mistress; for the costume, see Sivaramurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 119, section "Tunic." From the point of view of interpretation, one would prefer to see in the "shirt-wearer" a begging ascetic. In

any case the sculptor has brilliantly succeeded in rendering the proud, slightly condescending mien of the dowager.

Excavation No. DH'12-1125.

Group IV

- 423 HEAD OF MONK. *Peshawar*, No. 1390. From Sahri Bahlol. H. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $7\frac{7}{8}$ ". The head of this aged monk furnishes another proof of the sculptural ability of the Gandhāran craftsmen. The wrinkled forehead, the aquiline nose, the small lips, and the firm chin prove that the sculpture is a real portrait, to which perhaps the raised eyebrows and the down-turned corners of the mouth originally added a tone of sadness. Spooner thinks that a "curiously lean and withered hand, holding a base of a miniature shrine found on the same site, at the same time (*Peshawar*, No. 1391)" may have belonged to this sculpture. In that case the aged monk would have held against his breast a little trefoil shrine containing an image of the Buddha. According to Spooner (*op. cit.*, p. 61), the royal female figure, No. 400, found at the same time was a companion piece.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 59-61, Pl. XXI, a. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 95. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 71. Group III

- 424 DONOR WITH TWO BOWLS. *Peshawar*, No. 2051. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. $18\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ". The hair of this princely donor calls to mind that of Lūhasudatta (see No. 255), but it is longer, coming down over the shoulders. He wears heavy earrings and necklace, and each hand holds a bowl, indicative of his gift. The handle-bar mustache recalls that of No. 312. Group III

- 425 THREE MONKS. *Peshawar*, No. 2078. Formerly in the Guides Mess, Mardan. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ". In this relief representing three monks the sculptor has evidently

tried to vary the poses. The monk at the extreme right—the only one completely preserved—is in left profile, the next is facing front, and the one at the left is in three-quarter view. The monks' robes are arranged the "himation" way (see No. 211), but in the case of the first two from the left there is a slight difference in the position of the arms, and the third has his left hand raised, the right at his side. The folds are characterized by an alternation of more and less accentuated ridges. In the background between the three monks are remains of two other figures, probably also monks.

Group III

- 426 THREE FEMALE WORSHIPPERS WITH UNUSUAL HEADDRESS. *Peshawar*, No. 1695. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D, 1912. H. 12", w. 7 1/8". The fragment of an arboreal canopy on the left indicates the presence of a seated Buddha in the part now lost. To the left of an Indo-Corinthian pilaster two women are portrayed with hands clasped; between them, above, is a third. Their unusual head-dress or hair arrangement deserves special attention. Bordering the forehead but reaching to the shoulder are strands of hair, like a braid, two of them twisted, one straight (woman on the right). The main part of the hair, however, radiates from the center of the forehead up over the crown of the head before falling down the back. The folds of the drapery are done with the typical paired and parallel lines. For the hair arrangement, cf. No. 310.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 100. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 89-90.

Group IV

*Acrobats, Ascetics, Brahmins,
and Others*

- 427 THREE ACROBATS. *Lahore*, No. 1050. H. 13 1/2". Two men stand side by side, each dressed in what seems to be an

athletic undergarment; cf. No. 445. They may have worn light, transparent shirts as well, the collar of which is here visible, or they may have been nude to the waist and the collar is in reality a necklace. In any case the two wear bracelets and have top-knots on their heads. A third man seated on the shoulders of the man on the right also wears a topknot and is similarly jewelled. Both the costume and the position of the third man speak for identifying them as acrobats, and as the one on the left looks worried or pensive, with his left hand against his chin, the fragment may perhaps have belonged to the Ugrasena story; cf. above, No. 117. Two sculptured fragments, one in Musée Guimet, one in Taxila, show a vertical row of acrobats, in which at least four can be seen seated on the shoulders of the men below: M.G. 17223, and Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 704, No. 24; Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 214, No. 24.

Group III

- 428 BRAHMAN NOVICE AND BRAHMAN. *Taxila*, No. 564. From Kālāwān, *Taxila*. H. 6 3/8", w. 3 7/8". On the right a bald and bearded old Brahman is standing, wearing a short skirt apparently of twisted and knotted fibers from the inner bark of a tree (Hargreaves). In the crook of his bent left arm he holds the characteristic attribute of the Brahmins, the waterpot. His young companion wears a short skirt of woven material, his long hair rolled back in front and hanging down on either side of the head. The Brahmins represented the priestly caste, into which no one could enter without having been born into it. After his years as a novice, a Brahman could either decide to live in the world, filling a secular position, or he could continue the religious life as religious leader, an intermediary between gods and man. On the other hand, he might decide to re-

nounce the world and live as a hermit, spending the rest of his life in a hut in the forest, his days spent in study and mortification of the flesh. Or he might decide to have no permanent home and to wander around the land, accepting food and shelter from "the world" while he concentrated on the life of the spirit; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 244-50. As hermit, or as wandering beggar, he might have a young novice as his helper (cf. Nos. 106-08), as has the old man on this relief. The waterpot in the old man's hand is a characteristic attribute because the purity of the Brahman's drinking water was of first importance to them.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 720, No. 133. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 222.

Group III

- 429 BRAHMAN NOVICE. *Lahore*, No. 2004. From Sikri. H. 14½". Like Sumati's in the *Dīpankara jātaka*, the hair of this Brahman novice is partly tied on top of the head, the rest flowing down over the shoulders; cf. also No. 81. The sacred cord passes over the left shoulder and across the right hip. Besides a short loincloth, he wears a shawl, here covering his back and left side. If the sculpture were complete, his left hand would probably hold the waterpot.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 253-54, Fig. 430 on p. 245. Group III

- 430 FIVE ASCETICS. *Taxila*, No. 26. From Sirkap, *Taxila*. H. 13¼", w. 11⅛". In this strange sculpture five men are standing in the background; the four whose heads are preserved have long, twisted locks framing the face and a topknot on the head. Two are young and clean-shaven, one is bearded, another has a mustache. The one on the left holds a waterpot in his left hand, and two of the older

men wear spotted deerskins over the left shoulder. All have the right hand raised in front of the body, the person in the center clearly with the palm inwards. They watch with great interest the scene before them, where a young man is carried head downwards on a pole by two companions. He grips the pole with both hands and knees, his feet in the air. The carrier on the right wears only a loincloth. The young man with the waterpot in the upper section could be a Brahman, but the fragmentary state of the relief and of our knowledge of the many different non-Brahman ascetics recommends a noncommittal attitude. In a recent article Soper identifies the young man carried on the pole with the Jain *fakir* Korakkhattiya, who died within a week of the Buddha's prophecy of his death, and whose body was "taken away trussed up with a reed rope and dragged off to the graveyard." This young man, however, looks more alive than seems proper for a corpse, so until further evidence is forthcoming it seems more reasonable to regard him as an acrobat or an ascetic. The relief was found in the Kushān level.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1927-28, p. 64, Pl. XIX, 2. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 9, Pl. VII, Fig. 12. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949, p. 7, Fig. 10. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 721, No. 135. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 222, No. 135. Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1954, pp. 145-48.

- 431 BRAHMAN NOVICE AND THREE BRAHMANS. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 10", w. 16⅞". Three Brahmans are portrayed in their forest retreats. On the left a Brahman novice is talking to his master, seated inside his domed hut. The novice wears a loincloth of woven material (see No. 428), and a shawl on the left shoulder. His right hand is raised to the

shoulder, palm inwards; in his left hand he holds a round object. The Brahman has the waterpot in his left hand, and on his head can be seen the characteristic Brahmanic topknot. In the next hut sits another Brahman, facing right, the parakeet on his hut looking back to a parakeet on the other hut. In front of the second Brahman is a stylized tree beyond which a third Brahman is standing. On the chest of the third is a vertical row of chevrons, perhaps scars from self-inflicted wounds.

Group III (II)

- 432 HERMIT INSIDE HIS HUT. *Taxila*, No. 563. From Kālawān. H. 8 7/8". This relief recalls No. 80, the miracle of fire and of water in Uruvilva. An old hermit is seated on a rolled mat inside his hut, his hands clasped around his crossed legs and looking at the fire burning on the altar. Tending the sacred fire was one of the duties incumbent on Brahmins; see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 248. The base is decorated with a frieze of half-egglantines.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 1, p. 167; Pt. 2, Pl. XCIV, d. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, pp. 720-21, No. 134. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 222, No. 134. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, pp. 76, 78, Fig. 51. Group III

- 433 HERMIT IN FRONT OF FIRE TEMPLE. *Lahore*, No. 2230. From Sikri. H. 4 3/4". An old Brahman is standing outside a fire temple of the same shape as the one portrayed on No. 83. With its double dome, the fire temple looks just like the ordinary Buddhist monastery, *vihāra*, as we see it for example on No. 469.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 123, Fig. 44. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome*, p. 65, Fig. 142. Group III

- 434 HEAD OF ASCETIC. *Peshawar*, No. 123 M. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. 2 1/2". This realistic head gives a good picture of

an old ascetic, with deep-set eyes and hollow cheeks, his turban arranged in three layers by means of vertical bands.

Group III

- 435 YOUNG ASCETIC. *Lahore*, No. 1731. H. 12". A young man with topknot and long hair covering his ears is dressed in a robe that leaves the right shoulder free. He is looking right with his hands clasped. The god Brahma is represented in a similar way on a number of reliefs (cf. Nos. 70, 104, 253-254), so we may recognize this god here, although it seems strange that he is so isolated. Group III (II)

- 436 HEAD OF ASCETIC. *Peshawar*, No. 89 M. H. 2 1/2". This old ascetic's turban, slightly different from that of No. 434, is arranged in two twisted layers.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 65. Group III

- 437 ASCETIC. *Lahore*, No. 608. H. 10 1/4". A similar headdress is worn by this emaciated ascetic, who looks upwards to the left, his right hand shading his eyes, his left holding the staff of aged ascetics; cf. No. 107. He may well represent the oldest of the Kāsyapa brothers (see Nos. 80-89) at the episode of Buddha's handing over the serpent at Uruvilva. In that case, we have a Brahman ascetic before us, with his topknot arranged in two horizontal strands.

Burgess, *AMI*, p. 11, Pl. 129, 2. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 114, Fig. 67. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, Pl. 35, B. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 257, Fig. 436. Group III

- 438 ASCETIC. *Peshawar*, No. W. U. 985. H. 8 1/2". A man stands holding a scarf with both hands in such a way that it partially covers the lower part of the body. The attempt at realistic rendering of the torso probably indicates a fast carried to the

point of near starvation. He may belong to one of the sects that practiced nudity; cf. No. 116, and Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 259.

Group III

- 439 GENIUS OF RICHES. *Peshawar*. From Sahri Bahlol. H. $13\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ". This figure resembles the preceding to a certain extent, but the body is anything but ascetic. It may, therefore, represent one of the several manifestations of Panchika-Farro, the Genius of Riches. He is standing with his left leg crossed over the supporting right, as in a relief of that god in the Museum of Calcutta: Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 105, Fig. 365, also Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 100, No. 112. The god there is bearded and his left hand, holding a small purse, rests upon the shoulder of his female partner. Our figure seems to show traces of a beard, so perhaps it is to be reconstructed on the lines of the Calcutta relief, that is, with a purse in the left hand and a female partner on the right. Two other reliefs present a similar arrangement of the drapery, but the left leg is parallel with the right: one in Berlin, bearded (see Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, p. 83, Fig. 159), and one in the British Museum, unbearded, from the Deane Collection. Group III

- 440 BOY WITH BIRD. *Taxila*, No. X. H. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ". Except for a scarf, thrown over the shoulders, and a necklace, this figure is nude. One might identify it with a boy, since a bird is the constant attribute of a youngster both in Palmyra and in Dura; cf. in Palmyra: Ingholt, *Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur*, pp. 20-21, No. 2, and pp. 152-54, Nos. 514-15, 524, 527; for Dura, see Hopkins, in *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, V, New Haven, 1934, pp. 56-58, Pl. XVII, 1. But on all these examples the boy is fully dressed. One might, therefore, rather think of identifying the statuette

with that of a god. The bird in the right hand might speak for the Iranian war god Verethragna, who on two Gandhāran reliefs is represented as a warrior with a spear in the left hand and a bird in the right; see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 121, Figs. 372, 373 (the Louvre), and also Bachhofer, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 13, 1937, p. 10 (British Museum). But on the British Museum relief the god is heavily armed, and on that in the Louvre he wears at least a loincloth. A nude god is, however, portrayed on a Parthian coin, generally assigned to the son of the Vardanes who ruled Parthia from about A.D. 39 to 47/48. On the reverse stands a naked, male person with a bird in the left hand, perhaps to be identified with Zeus; see Wroth, *British Museum Catalogue, Parthia*, p. 191, Pl. XXIX, 17-18. Whether Zeus or not, the figure undoubtedly portrays a god, and the present statuette may well represent the same divinity. It was found in the pre-Kushān stratum II, and Hargreaves dates it in the first half of the 1st century A.D.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1923-24, p. 49, Pl. XII, 9, and in *JRAS*, 1947, p. 8, Pl. IV, Fig. 5. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 702, No. 10. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 213, No. 10.

- 441 FEMALE DONOR. *Taxila*. From Sirkap. H. $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". A headless woman holds a tray with flowers or other offerings. The missing head had been made in a separate piece and joined by means of a tenon and socket. She is dressed in a cloak open in the front and recalling those worn by both Parthian and Kushān nobles and known from Hatra, Shotorak, Surkh Kotal, and Mathura; see Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, pp. 13-14, Pl. III, 2, and Schlumberger, *JA*, CCXL, 1952, p. 445, n. 3. Over the cloak at the back two plaits of hair can be seen. Under the cloak she wears a transparent undergarment reach-

ing to the feet, and, besides crossing breast bands, she has a necklace, a jewelled girdle, and anklets. Found in stratum II (pre-Kushān), the figure is dated by Hargreaves in the early 1st century A.D.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1928-29, pp. 53-54, No. 24, Pl. XIX, 2. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 701, No. 5. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 212, No. 5.

- 442 NANAIA. *Lahore*, No. 2264. From Sikri. H. 7". This headless, female statuette wears a diaphanous tunic and a *dhōti*; cf. No. 400. The left arm is broken off just below the elbow, but the preserved part shows that it was slightly raised. A scabbard is attached in the Iranian way; cf. Nos. 64, 65, and at Hatra, see Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, p. 14, No. 1, Pl. III, 2. One might identify the figure as one of the Yavanīs, the female palace guards (see, e.g., No. 39), but they are never armed with swords. I wonder, therefore, if the present statuette should not rather be taken to represent the originally Mesopotamian goddess Nanaia, whom we find portrayed on coins of Kanishka, standing with scepter in her raised right hand and sword at her left side; cf. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, XII, 1891-92, pp. 78, 148-53, Pl. XVII, 20 (inscribed "Queen Nanaia"), and for her cult Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13 and 31, n. 7. The rather plastic character of the drapery speaks for an early date.

Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 77, Fig. 343.

Group II

- 443 ATHENA OR ROMA. *Lahore*, No. 7. H. 32 3/4". When this statuette was first found, it was called Athena because of the helmet and the spear. She holds the spear in her raised left hand; the right arm had been broken just above the elbow, but enough remains to show that the forearm

was held in a horizontal position. The figure is frontal, but the pensive face is turned slightly to the left. Her hair flows down over the shoulders of her garment, a chiton with overfold. The way in which the chiton is fastened over the shoulders is found also in Dura and Hatra; see Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, pp. 10-11, Fig. 4 and Pl. III, 1. The belt is twisted, as on No. 402, and fastened right under the breast. The drapery is rather plastic and clinging; the folds, though trying to be realistic, form a beautifully symmetrical pattern. Earrings and a necklace complete her costume. The fine modelling of the head makes this figure one of the outstanding examples of Gandhāran sculpture. But is she really Athena? The first to challenge this identification was Dr. Bloch, who in 1900 proposed to see in the figure a Yavanī. But, to my knowledge, no Yavanī is ever represented with a helmet. The earlier identification as Pallas Athene therefore is probably to be preferred. In the Near East native goddesses are occasionally portrayed in the guise of Athena, as, for example, the Arabic Allat; cf. the reliefs from Khirbet es-Sān'a: Seyrig, *Syria*, XIV, 1933, pp. 14-15, Pl. IV, and from Hatra: Naji al Asil, *ILN*, Dec. 25, 1954, p. 1160, Fig. 2. A cult of Allat in Gandhāra would be extremely unlikely; but it is quite possible that another foreign divinity is portrayed, namely, the goddess Roma. Monneret de Villard has called attention to a coin of Huvishka on which is represented a helmeted goddess, holding a spear in her right hand, her lowered left hand resting on a shield. An inscription gives the name of the goddess as RŌM, that is, Roma; see *Orientalia*, 17, 1948, pp. 207-08, and, for the coin, Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, XII, 1892, p. 114, No. 74, Pl. XXII, No. 11. The helmet and the long chiton correspond to those of the

present statuette, so I wonder if the latter should be identified not with Athena but with Roma, the divine patroness and symbol of Rome. On the other hand, the spear on the statuette is held in the left, not in the right, hand as on the coin; and instead of a shield, which would require a more slanting position of the right forearm, this latter was in a position that rather suggests that the goddess had held some object in the outstretched right hand. However, if we look at the representations of Roma on Roman imperial coins we find great variety in stance and attributes. The seated Roma is by far the most popular. The standing Roma is generally portrayed as an Amazon, but from the time of Hadrian on she also appears as Athena in long chiton. The standing type usually has a spear in the left hand and, most often, a Victory in the outstretched right hand; see Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, London, 1936, p. CXXXVIII, and Jocelyn Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pp. 135-37. Occasionally Roma with long chiton has a patera in the right hand; see Mattingly, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. 60, 16 (coin of Hadrian), and Hill, *British Museum Catalogue, Arabia*, p. 42, Nos. 1-2, Pl. VI, 14-15 (coin of Philippus Arabus from Philippiopolis). For the date of the statuette, see Introduction, p. 27.

V. A. Smith, *JASB*, LVIII, Pt. 1, 1889, p. 121, Pl. VII (Pallas Athene). Burgess, *AMI*, p. 6, Pl. 91 (Pallas Athene). T. Bloch, *List of the Photographic Negatives of Indian Antiquities in the Collection of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1900, p. 50, No. 1195 (Yavani). Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 77, Fig. 343 (Yavani). Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, p. 60, Pl. 34, A (in text, "foreign female guard"; on plate, "Pallas Athene"). Agard, *The Greek Tradition in Sculpture*, Baltimore, 1930, p. 28, Fig. 17 (Pallas Athene). Row-

land, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, p. 392, n. 24 ("Athena"—dated A.D. 50-150). Rowland, *Zalmoxis*, I, 1938, p. 82, Pl. IX, Fig. 9. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, p. 347, Pl. B 13, c (Athene or Yavani). Bernet Kempers, in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, VI, 2, p. 476, n. 2, Pl. 70, 2 (Athene-Haremswächterin).

Group I

- 444 WARRIOR WITH SPEAR. *Peshawar*, No. 1949. From Palatu Dheri, near Charsadda, 1903. H. $7\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. 12". On the left is a highly conventionalized lotus flower; to the right stands a warrior, his head facing right, a spear in his right hand, a shield in the raised left hand. At the extreme right the fragmentary outline of a seated Buddha can be seen.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 93.

Group III

- 445 WRESTLERS. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. $10\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 16". Framed by a border of lotus flowers, recalling that of No. 66, two wrestlers are portrayed at the beginning of their match. Both wear the trunks characteristic of athletes (cf. Nos. 30, 113, and 427), and each has one hand on his opponent's shoulder, the other at his belt. On the back are handholds, and in the center is a four-petalled rosette. A similar object in the Peshawar Museum, No. 1938, came from Lalpura in Afghanistan and has an inscription in Kharoshthi characters, giving the name Minamdrasa, the Greek Menandros; see Konow, *CII*, II, 1, p. 134, No. LXX; Shakur, *Guide*, p. 106. A group in copper of two wrestlers found at Khafajeh, near Baghdad, shows the two athletes using the same grip on the belts of their opponents as their Gandhāran counterparts. The Khafajeh wrestlers, however, date from about 2500 B.C.; see *ILN*, Dec. 10, 1938, p. 1094, Fig. 11.

Group III

446 TWO MALE BUSTS. *Peshawar*, no number. From Sahri Bahlol. H. $6\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ". This fragment comes from a circular medallion bordered by trapezoidal frames, within a laurel-leaf torus molding. In the two frames preserved one sees busts in left profile of rather Roman-looking individuals.
Group III

447 HEAD OF BRAHMAN ASCETIC. *Taxila*, No. 579. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $2\frac{3}{8}$ ". This fragment shows two interesting characteristics: the crown of the head is shaven, except for one lock, and the robe is drawn up so as to cover most of it. The latter feature generally indicates low caste (cf. No. 103), but the forelock may rather identify the head as that of a wandering ascetic; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, New York, 1903, p. 147, and a relief from Taxila: Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, pp. 716-17, No. 114; Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 220, No. 114; also a relief of the *parinirvāna* in the Freer Art Gallery; see Viennot, *Culte de l'arbre*, Pl. XV, Fig. D.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 717, No. 115. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 226, No. 115.

Group III

448 TORSO OF MAN, HEAD OF WOMAN. *Gai Collection*, *Peshawar*. H. $3\frac{1}{8}$ " (head only). Below a male torso is a head in right profile, the hair over the forehead resembling the almond-shaped locks of the Buddha (cf., e.g., No. 210), but the way in which the hair is arranged in a bun over the ear is not found on any Buddha. On the female donor statue, No. 416, the ear is similarly covered, and since the hair on the foreheads of the two pieces is also similar, I am inclined to regard this as the head of a woman.

Group III

449 BUST OF YOUTH. *Labore*, No. 17. H. 3", w. $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". The head of a young man with upturned nose is here shown in right profile. The eye is rendered in front view.

Group III

Animals and Plants

450 MOUNTED ELEPHANT PLUCKING LOTUS. *Peshawar*, No. 16 L. Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 18". This richly caparisoned forepart of an elephant bears witness to the importance of that powerful creature in Pakistan even in ancient times. On the whole, the modelling is rather better than is usual in representations of elephants; cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 217-18. The five nails on the forefoot are correctly indicated. On top, just behind the elephant's head, the driver, the mahout, sits at rest, for the animal is not working but gathering lotuses for subsequent, delightful consumption. The present protome is to be compared with the four conjoined protomes from Jamal Garhi; see Burgess, *AMI*, p. 6, Pl. 76.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 106. Cf. Shukur, *Guide*, p. 106, No. 1927.

Group III

451 ELEPHANT PLUCKING LOTUS. *Labore*, No. 79. H. $11\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. 8". Less elegantly attired, this saddled elephant with a crownlike ornament on its head is engaged in the same pleasant pastime as No. 450.

Group III

452 ELEPHANT PLUCKING LOTUS. *Labore*, No. 581. H. $5\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. 4". This elephant protome differs from the two preceding ones in the ring or belt around the head and the criss-cross lines on the hide. It, too, is plucking lotuses.

Group III

- 453 **LION FED BY YAKSHA.** *Peshawar*, No. 1338. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D. H. $8\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. 4". Between the front paws of a standing lion a small *yaksha* fearlessly lifts up a bowl to feed the rather terrifying beast. The group probably came from a small stupa, where similar figures were used as dividing motifs between the panels. Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 114, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 8, 1st row left. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 80. Group III
- 454 **LION.** *Lahore*, No. 1126. From Sanghao. H. 14", w. $3\frac{7}{8}$ ". Lion protomes were a characteristic feature of the so-called Syro-Hittite civilization, in Hama and elsewhere. It is therefore surprising to find similar lion protomas made in Gandhara some thousand years later. The face has, however, been greatly humanized. The hair on the chest is carefully parted in the middle, but the tuft on the left shoulder has come down through the ages unchanged. For the latter, cf. Kantor, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, VI, 1947, pp. 250-74. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 216, Fig. 92, a. Group III
- 455 **LION.** *Lahore*, No. 2286. From Sikri. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ". The peculiar featherlike appearance of the hair on the chest can be seen even better on this lion. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 211, Fig. 88, b. Group III
- 456 **LION.** *Peshawar*, No. 1506. From Sahri Bahlol, 1912. H. 12", w. 9". Not only is this protome larger than the preceding, but the hair below the head is more naturalistic, lacking the central parting. The flame-like locks recall those of the Syro-Hittite lions from Hama (cf. Ingholt, *AJA*, 46, 1942, p. 474, Fig. 12) and those from Parthian Hatra (cf. Naji al Asil, *ILN*, December, 1954, p. 1160, Fig. 2). Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 96. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 80. Group III
- 457 **LION THRONE.** *Lahore*, No. 2056. From Sikri. H. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 13". Another example of the architectural use of lions is furnished by this fragment, which shows the right half of a throne, flanked by a lion. Such lion-supported thrones were called *simhāsanas* and indicated royal rank for the occupant; cf. Auboyer, *Le Trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1949, pp. 34-35. Cf. No. 37. Group III
- 458 **LION TEASED BY AMORINO.** *Karachi*, Box 20. From Taxila. H. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $13\frac{3}{4}$ ". In No. 453 we saw that *yakshas* had a way with lions, and the same is true here, where a *yaksha*-amorino is playfully mounted on a lion and is pulling its tail. Two very similar pieces from Mian Khan are now in Calcutta; see Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 114, Nos. 201-02, Pl. XI, b. Group III
- 459 **HAND WITH LOTUS.** *Karachi*, No. 1588 (Peshawar number). From Sahri Bahlol, Mound D. H. $6\frac{3}{4}$ ". This right hand is beautifully carved, and so are the lotuses—one open, four still in bud. The nearest parallel I have been able to find is that of a bunch of lotus flowers in the right hand of a Bodhisattva, now in Berlin; see Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 191, Fig. 139. A. Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 6, 3d row right. Group III
- 460 **PEACOCK.** *Lahore*, No. 1080. From the Peshawar Valley. W. $9\frac{3}{8}$ ". Next to the parakeets, the most popular bird in Gandhara seems to be the peacock, the bird depicted in this triangular plaque. On the

Indra Visit reliefs in both the British Museum and the Calcutta versions, a peacock is placed on the top of the cave, directly above the head of the Buddha; see under No. 130. Cf. a similar plaque in Calcutta: Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 114, No. 197.

Group III

- 461 RINCEAU OF VINE LEAVES WITH ANIMALS. *Peshawar*, No. 1321. From Sahri Bahlol, 1909-10. H. 7", w. 21". This rather deeply undercut fragment presents an interesting blending of East and West. The peopling of floral scrolls with living creatures is a well-known decorative device through the whole history of Roman imperial art, but here two Indian animals have been added: the peacock and the monkey. For other Gandhāra examples, cf. a frieze in Calcutta, each loop of which has a playful child, a goat, or a couple of children; see Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 114, No. 174; also a relief from Sahri Bahlol; Spooner, *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 51, Pl. XV, c, with both amorini and animals. For parallels from Syria, see J. Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XVIII, 1950, e.g., Pls. XXI, 2 (Sidon), XXII, 2 (Baalbek), XX, 1 (Palmyra); also Ingholt, *Acta Archaeologica*, III, 1934, p. 14, Fig. 6 (Palmyra).

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 92. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 80.

Group III

- 462 LOTUS FLOWERS. *Labore*, No. 1177. From Charsadda. H. 5". Three open lotuses with tendrils and bells make up the decoration of this fragment. On the bases of a few Buddha statues a similar row of lotus flowers appears (see under No. 215), but our fragment does not seem high enough for a base.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 221, Fig. 97.

Group III

- 463 LEAVES OF PIPAL, THE SACRED FIG TREE. *Peshawar*, No. 15 L. H. 8½", w. 19¼". The pipal tree was the one under which the Buddha received the Enlightenment. No wonder that its leaves came to play an important decorative role. A relief in the Louvre shows a simple rinceau of fig leaves (see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 219, Fig. 95), a relief from Shotorak, in Afghanistan, presents a few more fig leaves in each loop (Meunié, *Shotorak*, p. 64, No. 62, Pl. XXXVIII, 126), but none of them is as elaborate or elegant as the present panel. Cf. also No. 30.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 106. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 104.

Group III

Architecture

- 464 CITY WALL. *Labore*, No. 1073. From the Peshawar Valley. H. 7", w. 6¾". On the left can be seen a city wall with two projecting towers, and human heads peering out between them; on the right a man, probably with lance in hand, stands guard in what appears to be a niche. This panel is perhaps to be completed on the right with a city gate, another guard in a niche, followed by a stretch of wall with two towers, as seen in No. 151. Group III

- 465 HUT WITH BALUSTRADE IN FRONT. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 10¼", w. 5⅝". Inside a small hut, or perhaps inside a porch or room of a house, two women are seen behind a low railing, composed of vertical bars. They have flowers in their hands and may be about to throw them on the Dipankara Buddha (see No. 7) or the Siddhārtha Buddha (see No. 257). It is true, however, that in none of these homage scenes is the upper room covered by a double, thatched dome as here.

Group III

- 466 BALUSTRADE WITH BALCONIES. *Peshawar*, No. W. U. 1479. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. 12". In making a balustrade the carpenter might employ vertical bars or, as here, diagonally crossed bars; cf. a relief in Calcutta: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 313, Fig. 160. From behind the balustrade a man and a woman in two small triangular lookouts watch something going on below, probably a visit by the Buddha. The man, on the left, has his hands clasped; the woman holds flowers in her right hand. The roofs of the lookouts have stepped gables. One relief shows two stories of similar niches or lookouts; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 224, Fig. 100 (then in Lahore). Group III

- 467 FIVE BALCONIES FLANKED BY AMORINI. *Peshawar*, No. 37. From Sahri Bahlol, 1907. H. $3\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $21\frac{3}{8}$ ". Flanked by amorini standing in rectangular panels, this fragment shows five small rooms or lookouts, each with a low railing of the type seen in No. 465. Three of the rooms—the first, the third, and the fifth—have semicircular roofs; the others are trapezoidal and are set back farther from the street. Inside each room is a woman, probably all ready to scatter flowers on the Buddha.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 36. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 62. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 77.

Group III

- 468 DOME OF VIHĀRA, BUDDHIST MONASTERY. *Lahore*, No. 390. H. $11\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $10\frac{1}{4}$ ". From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims we know that at least from the time of Kanishka to the latter half of the fifth century Gandhāra was dotted with magnificent stūpas and impressive monasteries, or *vihāras*. Most of these were probably destroyed during the campaigns of the Huns, between 455 and 520; see Wheeler, *Antiquity*, 22, 1949, pp.

10–11. This relief gives an idea of how the upper part of one of these monasteries looked. The main entrance at ground level is flanked by Indo-Corinthian half-columns, and above it are flowers of the sacred fig tree. The cornice supports a rectangular balustrade of horizontal and vertical crossed bars; see below, No. 470. On an earlier photograph (see Burgess) one could still see one of the false gables placed on top of the balustrade, just around the corner on the right; cf. No. 168. An ovolo forms the transition between the balustrade and the member above. The decoration of this molding has a predominantly horizontal character: an over-all pattern of trilobate leaves is edged at the bottom by narrow bands and a saw-tooth and a wavy line; at the top is a bead-and-reel molding. On either side, at the corners of the ovolo stand two small figures: a woman on the left, a man on the right, both with hands clasped (see photograph in Burgess, *AMI*), no doubt the donors of the *vihāra*. The next member is rectangular and is made up of two parts: a frieze of amorini carrying garlands with flowers in the loops (cf. No. 374) and, above, a second balustrade; both of these sections rest on a row of modillions. This double member projects slightly beyond the crowning dome of the *vihāra*. No less than seven horizontal rows of ornament can be distinguished on the surface of the dome. First come three narrow bands, of triangles, a wavy line, and dots, and above them is a row of hatched triangles. The three top sections all have floral ornamentation: the first shows a running pattern of half-acanthi, recalling that of No. 88; the second has trilobate leaves similar to those on the ovolo; and a rosette caps the whole. At the front of the dome and crossing the first four bands of decoration is a trapezoidal niche containing a Buddha in meditation;

this supports an arched niche above in which a second Buddha in meditation is enthroned. For the band of hatched triangles, cf. the base of a relief from Sanghao; see Burgess, *AMI*, p. 10, Pl. 125, and the base of a bronze Maitreya in Tokyo, dated A.D. 478, see Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XIX, 1937, p. 102 and Fig. 9.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 32, Pl. 7, 1. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 191, Fig. 75.

Group III-IV

- 469 **VIHĀRA WITH WORSHIPPERS.** *Peshawar*, No. 916. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 11", w. 12". The preceding relief unfortunately could reveal next to nothing about the appearance of the ground floor of a *vihāra*, but luckily this sculpture fills in the gap. On the base of a statue, which to judge from the jewelled sandals represented a Bodhisattva, a model of a *vihāra* is represented. The model is flanked by two worshippers on either side: two women on the right, two men on the left, all with hands clasped, no doubt the donors of the building. It has the same sort of double dome as the preceding relief, and the fire temple, No. 433. As for the ground floor, one sees clearly the steps leading up to the main, trapezoidal entrance, and what probably is the railing in front of the gate; cf. Nos. 83 and 433, and especially a relief published in Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 121, Fig. 41.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, Pl. XLV, b.

Group III

- 470 **BALUSTRADES.** *Labore*, Nos. 229 and 795. H. 8½" and 5", w. 22¾" (cf. No. 229). These two fragments both show the same kind of balustrade as described on No. 468. The lower one is topped by a row of acanthi, the upper by merlons of a type that played such a prominent part in Petra, Palmyra, Seleucia, and Surkh Kotal; cf.

Brünnnow and Domaszewski, *Arabia Petraea*, 1904, pp. 147-55 (Petra); Starcky, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XXIV, 1941, p. 16 and Fig. 10 (Palmyra); Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, III, pp. 100-01, Fig. 23 (Palmyra); Debevoise, *Asia*, 1938, p. 747 (Seleucia); Schlumberger, *JA*, CCXL, 1952, p. 448, Pl. VIII, 1 (Surkh Kotal).

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 223, Fig. 99.

Group III

- 471 **DOME OF VIHĀRA.** *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 7", w. 15". Only the domed top of a *vihāra* model is represented on this small fragment. As on No. 468, there is a divine statue inside the trefoil niche, here a standing Buddha in the reassuring pose. The kneeling figures with clasped hands in either corner are perhaps meant to be the donors. A leafed stalk encircles the base of the dome (cf. No. 189), and the main part is covered by two rows of overlapping leaves and a simple rosette at the top.

Group III

- 472 **STŪPA.** *Peshawar*, No. 712. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 10½", w. 12¼". To get a correct idea of an ancient stūpa, one must add to this model two elements, the square base below and the crowning umbrellas; cf. Nos. 155 and 157. The three circular drums and dome above diminish in size toward the top, all but the lowest drum being supported on a row of modillions. The decoration of the drums varies. The bottom one has a running pattern of half-acanthi (cf. No. 468), the next has a horizontal stalk like No. 471, the third has a checker pattern (cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 224, Fig. 100), and the dome has two rows of leaves and a rosette (cf. No. 471). For a complete model of a stūpa not very different from this one, see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 83, Fig. 22.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 137, Pl. XLI, b. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 83. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 102. Group III

- 473 FALSE BRACKET WITH BUST OF WOMAN. *Taxila*, No. 505. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $3\frac{1}{2}$ " (across elbows). A small number of such "false"—that is, nonsupporting—brackets were found during the excavations at Taxila. In this example the bracket is in the shape of a volute, decorated on its underside by a half-figure of a winged female, rising from an acanthus-leaf base. She wears a long-sleeved garment, large earrings, and both necklace and breast chain. Her hairdress is rather peculiar. A narrow fillet binds the brow; under it the hair on the forehead is rendered rather flatly. Above the fillet the locks, confined in two long braids, hang down over the shoulders. In her hands she holds a bowl, filled with fruits.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1917-18, p. 8, Pl. IV, b. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 703, No. 16. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 213, No. 16 (good illustration of original position of bracket). Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131 (dated A.D. 1-25). Group uncertain

- 474 FALSE BRACKET WITH HEAD OF PRINCELY FIGURE. *Taxila*, No. 431. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $8\frac{1}{10}$ ". The underside of the volute bracket is decorated by the head of a princely figure, whose headdress is an elaborate turban of three narrow bands separated by rows of beads with a large ornament in front. A similar joining of volute and headdress is found on a false bracket also from Taxila, now in the British Museum; see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 213, Fig. 89.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 725, No. 167. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 226, No. 167. Group uncertain

- 475 FALSE BRACKET WITH WINGED MALE FIGURE. *Taxila*, No. 34. From Sirkap. H. $6\frac{7}{8}$ ". Even more ambitious than the preceding is this volute bracket. It shows the three-quarter figure of a winged, princely male emerging from an acanthus leaf. In addition to the skirt he wears a scarf and on his head a turban with a large central ornament. The voluted bracket against which he leans is in the shape of a serpent with scaly body and double head.

Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 8, Pl. V, Fig. 6. Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 703, No. 18. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 213, No. 18. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131 (dated A.D. 1-25). Group uncertain

- 476 INDO-CORINTHIAN CAPITAL. *Peshawar*, No. 1985. From Barikot, Swat. H. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", w. $22\frac{1}{2}$ ". In the center of the capital, surrounded by acanthi, a seated Bodhisattva in the reassuring pose can be identified as Maitreya by the water flask in his left hand. In Calcutta there is a similar piece, with the single difference that the Bodhisattva is standing. See Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 113, No. 241, Pl. XIII, b. For other capitals see Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 234-40.

Hargreaves, in *Taxila*, II, p. 705, No. 35. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 214, No. 35.

Group III

Fire Altars

- 477 FIRE ALTAR FLANKED BY WORSHIPPERS. *Labore*, No. 679, H. $10\frac{1}{8}$ ", w. $10\frac{1}{4}$ ". The jewelled sandals of a Bodhisattva can still be seen on top of the base. On the front of the base Indo-Corinthian pilasters at the corners support a modillion cornice. Within the panel a fire altar is worshipped by three women at the right, three men on the left, all with clasped

hands. The sides are decorated by an eglantine. For the fire altar, see Introduction, p. 36.

Burgess, *JIAI*, VIII, 1900, p. 37, Pl. 13, 4. Vogel, *ASI*, 1903-04, pp. 244 and 247, No. 5, Pl. LXVI, 4. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 83, Fig. 344. Group III

- 478 FIRE ALTAR FLANKED BY WORSHIPPERS. *Lahore*, No. 1652. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ", w. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ". Two male worshippers stand on either side of a fire altar, here too framed by Indo-Corinthian pilasters. Group III

Sirkap Trays

- 479 APOLLO AND DAPHNE. *Karachi*, No. 8502. From Sirkap. Diam. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". Of steatite. On this cosmetic tray the sculptor has represented the moment just before Daphne's transformation into a laurel tree. Apollo has overtaken her as she sinks to her knees on the rocky ground. The flat rim is decorated by beads and a running spiral; on the underside a lotus is carved in relief. These trays represent a non-Buddhist element in Gandhāran sculpture. A considerable number were found in Sirkap, but of all those now scattered in private collections a great many undoubtedly come from other sites in Gandhāra. The Greek influence on the subject matter is obvious. The question of origin would furnish an interesting subject for a monograph. Probably some were made locally, others in Egypt, in Bactria, still others in Parthian Mesopotamia; cf. the ivory tray recently found in Hatra: Naji al Asil, *ILN*, Dec. 25, 1954, p. 1161, Fig. 7. For these trays in general, see Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 473-98. The present tray was found in stratum IV (Early Saka) and is assigned to the 1st century B.C.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1929-30, p. 90, No. 93,

Pl. XV, 1. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, pp. 6-7, Fig. 13. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1946, pp. 117-18, and 1947, p. 4 ("countryman in act of disrobing a woman"). Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 494, No. 62; III, Pl. 144. Also in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 130-31 (1st century B.C.).

- 480 THE DIOSCURI. *Karachi*, No. 988 M, formerly Peshawar. Diam. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". The rim is decorated with a leaf pattern. A relief of the two Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, riding to the right, occupies approximately three fifths of the area in the center. As another proof of their popularity in the ancient Near East, one might mention that even in the Palmyra steppe a marble relief was found that portrayed these divine twins; see Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris, 1951, p. 56, No. 17, Pl. XXI, 4.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 67.

- 481 MAN AND TWO WOMEN DANCING. *Karachi*, No. 8492. From Sirkap. Diam. $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". Of steatite. As on the preceding plaque, the sculptured decoration occupies one half of the tray only. Three dancing figures, a man with a woman on either side, are presented frontally except for their feet, which are in profile. The workmanship is crude.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 32, No. 1, Pl. XXIX, b, and in *Taxila*, II, p. 495, No. 66, III, Pl. 144. Also in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 130-31 (1st century B.C.).

- 482 EROTIC SCENE. *Peshawar*, No. 113 M. Diam. 4". Of soapstone. An erotic scene carved in the center is framed by four stylized half-flowers. The rim is decorated by four concentric, incised lines.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 57, 64. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 66.

- 483 **AMOROUS COUPLE.** *Karachi*, No. 8503. From Sirkap. Diam. $4\frac{3}{16}$ ". Of steatite. The sculptured decoration here occupies two thirds of the available space. The left half is missing. On the part preserved a man is bending down from a couch to kiss a woman seated on a stool. The tray shows the same summary treatment of the human figure seen in No. 482, and has the same incised lines on the rim. On the underside is an inscription in Kharoshthi letters.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1928-29, p. 57, No. 56, Pl. XX, 11. Ippel, *Wirkungen griechischer Kunst in Asien*, Leipzig, 1940, p. 13, Pl. III, 13. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, p. 225, Pl. I, Fig. 2 (dated A.D. 25-75). Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 495, No. 64; III, Pl. 144. Also in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 130-31 (dated 1st century B.C.).

- 484 **WOMAN RIDING ON SEA MONSTER.** *Karachi*, No. 8501. From Sirkap. Diam. $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". Of steatite. A *makara* twisting about fills most of the space; see No. 394. The creature is mounted by a woman, nude except for a shawl covering her legs. She is seen from the back, her head in left profile, and with a child in her outstretched left arm. On the underside of the tray are five letters in Kharoshthi, read as Mamjuminasa, that is, "of Mamjumina," probably the name of the owner. Found in stratum II (Parthian).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1928-29, p. 55, No. 42, Pl. XX, No. 10. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, pp. 224, n. 6, and 225, n. 9. Buchthal, *Western Aspects*, p. 6, Fig. 7. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 496, No. 76; III, Pl. 145. Also in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 130-31 (dated 1st century B.C.).

- 485 **COUPLE WITH WINE CUPS.** *Karachi*, No. 8490. From Sirkap. Diam. $6\frac{7}{8}$ ". Of steatite. The rim is decorated with the leafed stalk last seen on No. 472.

The area within the rim is bisected by a broad bar, and the lower half is again bisected by a similar bar; both bars are decorated by rows of squares, with diagonals and indentations as on Nos. 196, 197. In the upper part are the half-figures of a man and woman facing front, the man on the left. He has curly hair, surmounted by a double loop, and appears to be nude, but wears a necklace. The woman wears only a breast band and a shawl over her shoulders, one end of it floating out to the right. Both hold cups in their hands.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1923-24, p. 65, Pl. XXV, 5, and in *Taxila*, II, p. 496, No. 70; III, Pl. 144. Also in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 130-31 (1st century B.C.).

- 486 **DRINKING SCENE.** *Peshawar*, No. 1105 M. Diam. $5\frac{1}{16}$ ". Of soapstone. This tray has a tripartite arrangement similar to that of No. 485, but the rim and the two bars are here decorated by two rows of beads. Around the slope just inside the rim is engraved a stalk similar to that on No. 472. In the upper compartment two half-figures appear facing one another: on the left, a man holds a cup to a woman's mouth.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 66.

- 487 **DRINKING SCENE. GIRL WITH GARLAND.** *Peshawar*, No. 715 M. Diam. 5". From Tordher. Of soapstone. As on No. 483, the sculptured decoration occupies the upper two thirds of the surface. It is a summary version of the same scene as that portrayed on No. 488: a man lying on a couch, resting on his left elbow, and holding a cup in his left hand. His right hand grasps the frame of the couch, behind which stands a woman holding a wreath aloft in her right hand. On the right a woman is seated on a low stool, a cup in her left hand, her right hand resting on the end of the couch. The front of the

couch and the edge of the tray both seem to be decorated with the horizontal stalk found on No. 485. The flat and linear modelling presents a marked contrast to the relatively more plastic and naturalistic style of No. 488. For a tray with similar decoration, acquired at Barikot, see Barger and Wright, *MAI*, No. 64, 1941, p. 63, No. 21, Pl. VIII, 4.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 57, 64, Shukur, *Guide*, p. 66.

- 488 DRINKING SCENE. GIRL WITH GARLAND. *Karachi*, No. 8494. From Sirkap. Diam. $5\frac{5}{16}$ ". Of steatite. On this less barbarous version of No. 487 a few

differences may be noted. The front of the couch is decorated by four rectangles with five indentations in each, and below the ledge on which the couch is placed is a leaf-and-dart pattern. Finally, the woman with the wreath here seems to stand, not behind the man, but between his legs; cf. a similar tray in the British Museum. Found in stratum V (Greek).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1929-30, p. 90, No. 94, Pl. XV, 2. Ippel, *Wirkungen griechischer Kunst in Asien*, p. 13, Pl. III, 14. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61, 1941, p. 225, n. 9. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 494-95, No. 63; III, Pl. 144, No. 63. Also in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 130-31 (1st century B.C.).

OBJECTS OF BRONZE, COPPER, GOLD, TERRA COTTA, STUCCO

Bronze, Copper, and Gold Objects

- 489 INK POT. COPPER. *Karachi*, No. 2779. From Sirkap. Diam. $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". The favorite handle for the Sirkap inkpots was evidently one with three loops. The sunk lid is pierced with a hole in the center for a pen; a stopper is attached to the handle by means of a chain. A similar inkpot of bronze was found at Begram; see Hackin, *MDAFA*, XI, 1954, pp. 280-81, No. 80, Fig. 353. Found in stratum II (Parthian). Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 597, No. 335; III, Pls. 176, 184, n.

- 490 FIGURINE OF WOMAN. COPPER. *Karachi*, No. 1304. From Sirkap. H. $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". A woman is standing with her left foot drawn back, her weight on the right leg. In her left hand she holds a staff or the shaft of a spear, and her right hand is on her hip. She is dressed in full trousers, *pājāmās*, and a transparent tunic tied with a knotted belt just below the breasts. As jewels she wears a necklace, armlets, a beaded girdle, and anklets. The figure is cast solid and appears to have served as an emblema.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1924-25, p. 50, Pl. XI, 8. Ippel, *Wirkungen griechischer Kunst*, p. 16, Pl. V, 22. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 605-06, No. 421; III, Pl. 186, d. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, pp. 81, 84, Fig. 52.

Group III

- 491 EARRING. GOLD. *Taxila*. From Sirkap. L. $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". This earring could be attached by means of an elaborate, double-leech clasp. In the center of this contriv-

ance was a female bust superimposed on a lotus rosette, with a cinquefoil lotus with heart-shaped petals above, and at the bottom a beaded circlet. From the lower part of the earring hangs an even more elaborate ornament consisting of a ring and a pendant. The former is decorated by three rows of beads; the latter is soldered to the ring and its upper part covered with granules, except where four small stars are slightly countersunk in the surface. From the star in front hang four small balls, and from the three terminal branches of the pendant similar clusters of balls, perhaps meant for grapes. At Palmyra the technique of granulation came in from the Parthians about A.D. 150, earrings in the form of grapes having been the most popular in the preceding half-century; see Ingholt, *Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur*, Copenhagen, 1928, p. 71. The pair of earrings was found in stratum II (Parthian).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1929-30, p. 59, No. 2, Pl. XVIII, 1 and 3, and in *Taxila*, II, p. 625, Nos. 11, 12; III, Pl. 190, i.

- 492 HARPOCRATES. BRONZE. *Taxila*. From Sirkap. H. 5". The Egyptian god Horus, or, as the Greeks called him, Harpocrates, was the son of Osiris and Isis. On his head he wears the crown of Lower and Upper Egypt, and the index finger of his right hand is placed just below the mouth, a gesture probably indicative of his child-like status. The cult of Harpocrates was widespread in the Near East during the time of the Roman Empire; cf., for example, at Palmyra: Ingholt, *Berytus*, III, 1936, p. 115, Pl. XXIII, 2; Ingholt, Seyrig, and

Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, Paris, 1955, p. 61, No. 450, Pl. XXIII. A similar bronze was found at Begram; cf. J. Hackin, *MDAFA*, XI, 1954, pp. 282-83, No. 153, Figs. 322 and 324. The present statuette was found in stratum II (Parthian).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 26, Pl. XX, f-h. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 140, middle. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 605, No. 417; III, Pl. 186, c. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 158, frontispiece. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, p. 342, Pl. B 13, a. Marshall, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, pp. 128-29, 131, Fig. 4 (dated A.D. 25-50).

- 493 INCENSE BURNER. COPPER. *Karachi*, No. 2465. From Sirkap. H. $3\frac{3}{16}$ " (to head of lion), w. $9\frac{1}{8}$ ". This small object consists of a bowl with handle. The bowl has a beaded edge and rests on three feet; the handle is in the shape of a winged and horned lion. Similar incense burners are known from the Palmyra steppe, Hatra, and Chinese Turkestan; see Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, p. 85, No. 12, Pl. XL, 1 and 3; Naji al Asil, *ILN*, Dec. 25, 1954, p. 1161, Fig. 10, and Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, p. 41, Fig. 10. The originating center seems, however, to have been Iran; see Bahrami, *Artibus Asiae*, XI, 1948, pp. 289-92, Figs. 1, 2, and Ghirshman, *Iran*, London, 1954, p. 281, Pl. 38, b. Found in stratum II, probably from 1st century A.D.

Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 194; II, p. 596, No. 321; III, Pls. 176, 184, k.

Group II or III

- 494 KANISHKA RELIQUARY. BRONZE.
-95 *Peshawar*, No. 452 M. From Shah-ji-ki-Dheri. H. $7\frac{7}{8}$ ". Shah-ji-ki-Dheri was the name of two large mounds outside Peshawar, in which Dr. Spooner in 1908 and

1909 found remains of the famous stupa built by Kanishka. It was here that the present gilded bronze reliquary was found. On its lid the Buddha is seated, his right hand raised in the reassuring pose, the left holding a fold of the drapery, as in No. 187, rather than a round vessel, as Majumdar suggests. The robe covers the lower part of both legs in the same way as when the Buddha in meditation sits with his hands covered; cf. Nos. 8 and 521. The quite large halo is edged with a foliate pattern similar to that on No. 316. The Buddha figure is not soldered directly on the lid but is raised on a short stalk reminiscent of the one on relief No. 255 portraying the miracle of Sravasti. Two gods with hands clasped, dressed in robes leaving their right shoulders uncovered, stand on either side of the Buddha. The god to the right is Brahma, to judge from the way the hair is arranged, whereas the god on the left wears the typical headdress of Indra. Generally, when the Buddha is flanked by these gods, he has Brahma on the left, Indra on the right, but there are other examples of Brahma occupying the place of honor on the right; cf. Nos. 60 and 70, both from the Sikri Stupa. The stalk on which the Buddha sits springs from an incised, inverted lotus flower, the sepals raised slightly above the petals; cf. No. 261. On the cylindrical reliquary itself, below the lip is a frieze of flying geese in low relief—emblems of the spread of Buddhism. In the principal band in rather high relief a king stands facing front, dressed in caftan and trousers and holding flowers in his right hand. Behind his shoulders is a garland that continues around the box in undulating loops, supported at intervals by amorini, portrayed in different attitudes; cf. Nos. 374-80. In the two loops next to the king are busts, the sun god on the right, the moon god on the left. In the

other loops of the garland three Buddhas seated in meditation have been portrayed, with hands covered and the robe arranged between the legs as on the main Buddha. The Buddha occupying the place on the reliquary diametrically opposite the king has a princely worshipper with clasped hands on either side, whereas the two remaining Buddhas each receive homage from a similar figure on one side only, that farthest from the king. An inscription in Kharoshthī letters is engraved on the lid and on the container itself. It is translated thus by Konow: "In the year 1 of (the maharāja) Kanishka, in the town . . . ima connected with the . . . mansion, this religious gift—may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings,—the slave Ayisala was the architect—in Kanishka's vihāra, in Mahasena's samgharāma, in the acceptance of the sārvaśtivādin teacher." For a discussion of the inscription and the date of the reliquary, see Introduction, pp. 29–30.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1908–09, pp. 49–53, Pls. XII, a–b; XIII, a–b, and *ASI*, 1909–10, pp. 135–41, Pl. LII, a. Vogel, "Een Beeld van Koning Kaniska den Kusan," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. kon. Akad. Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, 4. Reeks, 12. Deel, Amsterdam, 1914, pp. 288–89, Pl. IV. Foucher, *BBA*, pp. 129–30, Pl. XV, 1, and in *AGBG*, II, pp. 541–44, 548–53, Pl. VI, 1–2. Bachhofer, *ZB*, VI, 1924–25, p. 16 and Fig. 12 (A.D. 90). Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 54, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 89 (A.D. 125–50). Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, p. 85, II, Pl. 148. Kramrisch, in Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, VI, p. 263, Fig. 264 (A.D. 78–106). Konow, *CIH*, II, 1, pp. 135–37, No. LXXII, Pl. XXV, 1. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 5, Pl. 10. Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, Pl. 43 (c. A.D. 100). Kramrisch, *Indian*

Sculpture, Calcutta, 1933, p. 45 and n. 72 on p. 210. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, 18, 1936, p. 391 and Fig. 6 (A.D. 50–150). Majumdar, *Guide*, p. 13, n. 3 (time of Huvishka on). Buchthal, *Burlington Magazine*, 1945, pp. 66, 69 (earliest date A.D. 250). D'Ancona, *Art Bulletin*, 21, 1949, pp. 321–23, Figs. 1, 2. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 98–106, Pl. II ("oldest existing Buddha image"). Deydier, *Oriental Art*, II, 1949–50, pp. 111–12, and *Contribution*, pp. 244–46. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, p. 48. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 79, 84, Pl. 38. A. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 9, 11, Pl. XIII. Bernet Kempers, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, VI, 2, p. 466, Pl. 69, 2. Edwards, *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1954, p. 111 and Fig. 16.

Group II–III

496 STŪPA. BRONZE. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. H. 15½", w. 9¾". This model is said to have come from a site in the Swat Valley about forty miles from Peshawar. Instead of one rectangular base, there are two here, but it is in the decoration of the dome-shaped member above the circular drum that this stūpa differs most from other known examples. Within four Indian arches spaced at regular intervals are seated Buddhas, the right shoulder uncovered, the two hands joined in the pose of meditation. On the upper half of the dome, above and between the Buddhas are eight sockets into which are fitted shafts tipped alternately with spread eagles and palmettes. The eagle occurs very seldom in Gandhāra; cf., however, a pillar capital from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa: Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 283, No. 3; III, Pl. 65, 3. Above the dome is an umbrella with eight holes in its outer edge, each directly above one of the shafts. These holes were probably made to hold bands or festoons of

flowers; see a relief from Bharhut: Foucher, *AGBG*, I, p. 53, Fig. 8. The closest parallel to the present stūpa is another bronze model in the Peshawar Museum, to which Professor Rowland has drawn my attention. The dome has eight similar up-rights, there shaped like Indo-Corinthian columns and supporting an architrave topped by eight empty trefoil niches, the latter in turn supporting superimposed umbrellas, of which five have been preserved. This object is said to have come from the Ghorband Valley in Afghanistan. Shakur mentions the presence of three miniature stūpas of bronze in Peshawar; see his *Guide*, p. 67. Group uncertain

Terra Cottas

- 497 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Taxila*, No. 637. From Mohra Moradu. H. 20". Originally this seated statue occupied a small niche in front of a cell in the monastery courtyard. The way in which the hair is arranged, in waves of curly, undercut locks, recalls the hair style of the stone Buddha No. 246 and that of the stucco head No. 533; cf. also the stucco heads from Hadda; see Barthoux, *Fouilles de Hadda*, III, Paris, 1930, p. 13, Pl. 3. The features are less lifeless than usual, and the drapery is more naturalistic than in the majority of the terra cottas. The folds are indicated by thin ridges. The present figures differ from the stone representations of the Buddha in meditation in the way in which the *sanghāti* here covers both legs; contrast Nos. 232-35. The zigzag folds visible under the right wrist are likewise a novel feature. Marshall dates practically all the terra cottas and stuccos from the Taxila region in the 4th to 5th century; see his *Taxila*, II, p. 468.
Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 30, No. 10, Pl. XXIV, c. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 153, left. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 470-71, No. 179; III, Pl. 138, j. Group III (IV)
- 498 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 665. From Jauliān. H. 7½". The left eyebrow and the left side of this mustached head are damaged. Above the center of the brow are the same almond-shaped locks as those we saw on the stone Buddhas; see No. 70.
Aiyar, *MAI*, No. 7, 1921, p. 51, No. 1, Pl. XXIV, d. Group III
- 499 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA SIDDHARTHA. *Taxila*, No. 607. From Mohra Moradu. H. 4¾". The hair is arranged across the forehead in horizontal, wavy lines with a sharp, vertical division in the center; for similar curls along the forehead, cf. No. 286. Excavation No. MM15-150. Group III (IV)
- 500 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 1729. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 6¼". Around the vertical, wavy strands of hair are two bandeaux, the upper decorated with a central medallion. From Court A of the monastery.
Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 9, No. 3, Pl. III, e, and in *Taxila*, II, p. 469, No. 172; III, Pl. 138, g. Group III (IV)
- 501 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Labore*, No. 519. H. 5". In many cases it is difficult or impossible to decide whether an isolated head with princely headdress originally belonged to a Bodhisattva or to a royal donor. This head might qualify for either. It is covered by a skullcap decorated on the left by a rosette with central medallion. The upper eyelid slants slightly upwards. For similarly decorated turban, cf. a head

- from Jauliān: Aiyar, *MAI*, No. 7, 1921, p. 45, No. 45, Pl. XX, o.
Group III (IV)
- 502 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Karachi*, No. 9019. From Kālawān, Court B. H. 13 7/8". Unusually open eyes and a rather complicated headdress characterize this head. Instead of the stereotyped expression of the Buddhas, this head reveals the Mahāyāna conception of the feelings of the Bodhisattvas toward mankind: "sorrow and compassion, readiness to hear prayers and to help in suffering" (see Marshall, in *Taxila*, I).
Marshall, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 1, p. 173; Pt. 2, Pl. XCVI, d. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 338-39; II, p. 470, No. 174, frontispiece; III, Pl. 137, c, No. 174. Also in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 134, Fig. 8 (dated A.D. 390-415).
Group III (IV)
- 503 HEAD OF DEITY. *Taxila*, No. 9021. From Kālawān, Court B. H. 8 1/2". This terra cotta, one of the best from Gandhāra, probably represents some divinity. The hair is brushed back from the brow in rather naturalistic, wavy strands, with undercutting between the locks.
Marshall, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 1, pp. 173-74; Pt. 2, Pl. XCVI, c; and in *Taxila*, I, p. 339; II, p. 470, No. 175; III, Pl. 137, e.
Group III (IV)
- 504 HEAD OF MONK. *Taxila*, No. 9018. From Kālawān, Court B. H. 6 3/4". The head of this pensive monk gives another, excellent example of the art of the Gandhāran coroplast. For a similar head from Kālawān in stucco, see Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 470, No. 176; III, Pl. 137, f.
Marshall, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 1, p. 174; Pt. 2, Pl. XCVI, d; and in *Taxila*, I, p. 340, No. 174, a.
Group III
- 505 HEAD OF ASCETIC. *Taxila*, No. 1722. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 7". Found in monastery, Court A. On this realistic head of an old, bearded ascetic the hair is drawn back in coarse strands from the brow and knotted on the crown of the head. Cf., besides the stone heads Nos. 428, 431-37, a similar head from Ushkur in Kashmir; see Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1953, p. 153, Pl. LVIII, b.
Group III
- 506 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Karachi*, No. 03090. From Akhnur in Kashmir. H. 5". A small collection of heads were acquired by Fabri from this site in 1938 and dated by him in the eighth century A.D. because of their similarity to finds from Ushkur that could be dated in that period; see under No. 513. If Fabri's dating of the Ushkur pieces is correct, the traditions of the Gandhāran artists were able to survive in a neighboring, more remote region for more than two hundred and fifty years after the disappearance of Buddhist art in the Peshawar Valley. The present head has been variously labelled "Lady with the Dreaming Eyes" (Fabri) and "Head of a Young Man" (Kar). Actually, it may well belong to a Bodhisattva; cf. No. 556.
Fabri, *Asia*, 1939, p. 596, left center. Kar, *Classical Indian Sculpture*, p. 35, Fig. 67. Fabri, *Marg*, VIII, No. 2, 1955, p. 58, Fig. 2, left.
Group uncertain
- 507 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA SIDDHARTHA. *Karachi*, No. 03080. From Akhnur. H. 4 7/8". This mustached head, which Fabri calls that of the "Prince of the Sad Countenance," may likewise be that of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. With the rows of curly hair covering his head one may compare the terra-cotta head, No. 499.

Fabri, *Asia*, 1939, p. 597, right center, and in *Marg*, VIII, No. 2, 1955, p. 58, Fig. 2, right. Group uncertain

- 508 HEAD OF YOUTH. *Karachi*, No. 1832. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa, Chapel B 12. H. $9\frac{3}{4}$ ". This radiant head of an adolescent has reminded Rowland of the youthful heads of Augustan type from the great frieze of Aphrodisias in Caria, whereas Wheeler considers it reminiscent of second-century portraits, such as that of the young Marcus Aurelius in the Museo Capitolino, Rome. One might add to the comparative material a bust from Hadda (see Barthoux, *Fouilles de Hadda*, III, p. 15, Pl. 37) and a bust from Palmyra (see Ingholt, *Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur*, pp. 40-41, PS20, Pl. VI, 3). On the latter the hair above the brow has the same two characteristic curls in the center, and it is dated still later than the time of Marcus Aurelius, namely, in A.D. 201-02. It is no doubt wiser to suspend further judgment on the date of the present head until more and well-dated comparative material becomes available.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 14, No. 4, Pl. V, a. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949, pp. 4-5, Fig. 13. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, London, 1950, pp. 54-55, Pl. VII, a. Soper, *AJA*, 55, 1951, pp. 303, 315-16, n. 17. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 266; II, p. 469, No. 167; III, Pl. 137, a. Bussagli, *Archeologia Classica*, V, 1953, p. 82, Pl. XL, 1. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 161, Pl. XXXII, B. Group III

- 509 HEAD OF LAYMAN. *Taxila*, No. 9016. From Kālawān, Cell 12, Court F. H. $7\frac{7}{8}$ ". Unfortunately, only the head of this portrait figure of a layman, found together with No. 510, is preserved. Presumably the two heads were those of the donor of the stūpa and his wife.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 1, p. 170; Pt. 2, Pl. XCV, a; and *Taxila*, I, p. 335; II, p. 470, No. 177; III, Pl. 137, h.

Group III

- 510 FEMALE HEAD. *Taxila*, No. 9015. From Kālawān, found with No. 509. H. 4". On the long, wavy hair parted in the center and drawn back over the ears is a crescent-shaped tiara. The wearer was probably codonor of the stūpa; see No. 509.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 1, p. 170; Pt. 2, Pl. XCV, b; and *Taxila*, I, p. 335; II, p. 470, No. 178; III, Pl. 137, i.

Group III

- 511 FEMALE HEAD. *Taxila*, No. 1823. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $7\frac{3}{4}$ ". This head probably portrays that of another female donor. A veil covers most of the head, leaving only the part above the brow exposed; here the hair seems to be parted in the middle. In the wide-open eyes the iris is indicated by an incised circle, the pupil by a circular depression; cf. No. 273. Excavation No. DH'14-585.

Group III

- 512 FEMALE HEAD. *Peshawar*, No. 451 M. From Akra, Bannu district. H. $2\frac{5}{16}$ ". The floral wreath around the back and sides of this head probably identifies it as that of a goddess. The soft, soapy modeling may point to a Greco-Parthian prototype; see Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, pp. 10-11, Pl. III, 1.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 73. Group III

- 513 FEMALE HEAD. *Karachi*, No. 340. From Ushkur, Kashmir. H. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". The hair is parted in the middle, with curls falling to the shoulders; perhaps two braids crossed at the top of the head. Her wistful expression recalls that of the male head No. 506, also from Kashmir. The site of Ush-

kur corresponds to the ancient city of Huvishkapura, which was built by Kanishka's successor Huvishka. Since the heads from Ushkur do not come from controlled excavations, and since evidence of Kushān occupation has been found there, it seems quite possible that they as well as the heads from Akhnur (see Nos. 506, 507) should be dated in Kushān times, rather than in the time of King Lalitaditya, in the early eighth century; cf. also Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 152-53. For a similar head, see Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 153, Pl. LVIII, c.

Fabri, *Asia*, 1939, p. 595, center. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 120-21, Pl. 69. Bussagli, *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, 2, 1953, p. 194, Fig. 15. Fabri, *Marg*, IX, No. 2, 1956, p. 58, Fig. 2.

Group uncertain

- 514 FEMALE HEAD. *Karachi*, No. 03096. From Akhnur, Kashmir. H. 6". Around the head, just above the brow, is a bandeau from the center of which two parallel curls hang over the forehead. Most of the hair is treated in a peculiar, flat way, which we shall see also on the male head No. 559, but the ears are covered by rather realistic curls like those on the forehead. For similar flat treatment of the hair, see a head from Hadda: Barthoux, *Fouilles de Hadda*, III, p. 14, Pl. 26, a, and below, Nos. 518 and 520.

Fabri, *Marg*, VIII, No. 2, 1955, p. 60, Fig. 15.

Group uncertain

Stuccos

- 515 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Taxila*, No. 1015. From Jauliān. H. 13 1/2". This headless figure corresponds quite closely to the terra-cotta statue No. 497.

The drapery folds in front are here, too, indicated by thin ridges, the *sanghātī* covers both left and right knees, and under the right wrist are similar zigzag folds. Marshall dates the stuccos from Jauliān in the fifth century A.D.; see *Taxila*, II, p. 523. For the technique of the Gandhāran stuccos, see Marshall, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 516-17.

Group IV

- 516 BIRTH OF THE BUDDHA. *Peshawar*, No. 1242. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. 4 1/2", w. 7 1/4". In the center Māyā, the Buddha's mother, is shown with her right hand raised, no doubt to grasp a branch of the sal tree; cf. Nos. 13-15. She is supported on the right by a woman, undoubtedly her sister Mahāprajāpatī, whose right hand is under Māyā's right armpit and whose left is placed on Māyā's left hip. The costumes of the two sisters are summarily rendered; the hair across the foreheads is indicated by wavy lines. The infant Buddha, already more than half emerged from Māyā's side, is about to be caught by Indra, standing on the left with a cloth in his hands in which to receive the divine child. For a stucco relief of the same subject, see Rowland, *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum*, V, 1943, pp. 24-27, fig. on p. 25.

Spooner, *Handbook*, p. 75. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 23, 91. Shakur, *Guide*, pp. 27, 76.

Group III-IV

- 517 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Jauliān Monastery, in situ*. H. 12 7/8". A row of Buddhas is still quite well preserved on the plinth of Stūpa A15, and the present Buddha is one of them. The arrangement of the *sanghātī* is as on the preceding figure. According to Marshall, the Buddhas of this plinth were remade in the fifth century, being among the latest reliefs on the site, stereotyped in style, and of coarse

workmanship. For such "remakings," cf. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, XXIII, 1949, p. 11, Pl. VI, b, and VII, a-b. See also No. 522.

Group IV

- 518 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1652. From Shah-ji-ki-Dheri. H. $12\frac{7}{8}$ ", w. 13". Seated on a low, rectangular pedestal, this Buddha was part of the decoration of a stupa, together with the Bodhisattvas Nos. 541 and 542. The arrangement of the *sanghāti* is as seen on No. 517. The box pleats under the left leg recall those of Nos. 234 and 236, Buddhas in the pose of meditation.

Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 99. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 72.

Group III (IV)

- 519 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Jauliān Monastery, in situ* against the back wall of Chapel C 19. The hair of this Buddha is arranged in the so-called "ladder" fashion. From the *ushnisha* vertical grooves descend toward the brow between rows of horizontal depressions; cf. No. 534. The *sanghāti* is arranged as on No. 518. Because of its small size and unusual position, Marshall suggested that this figure was no longer in its original place.

Marshall, *ASI*, No. 7, p. 12, Pl. XII, a.

Group IV

- 520 THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION. *Taxila*, No. 803. From Jauliān Monastery, between the main stupa and Stupa A 12. H. $10\frac{3}{8}$ ", w. $7\frac{3}{4}$ ". As on No. 518, the locks of the hair are rendered by round depressions; the *sanghāti* is arranged as on Nos. 515, 517-18. There is a dowel hole under the figure. At the time of discovery, red pigment could still be seen on the garment, hands, lips, nose, ears, eyelids, pupils, and forehead, and traces of black were visible on eyebrows, eyeballs, and hair. Excavation No. 192.

Aiyar, *ASI*, No. 7, p. 42, No. 2, Pl. XIX, a. Foucher, *ibid.*, p. 25.

Group IV

- 521 THREE BUDDHAS IN MEDITATION. *Jauliān Monastery, in situ*. On the base of the façade of Chapel C 34 is a row of stunted Indo-Corinthian pilasters with interrupted architrave above the capitals, topped by a frieze and a modillion cornice. In the bays between the pilasters three Buddhas are seated in the pose of meditation, the ends of their *sanghātis* appearing under the hands, trapezoidal in outline and with box pleats below. In general, it seems to be the rule in Gandhāran stone sculpture that when the hands of the Buddha in the pose of meditation are *not* covered, then the front end of the *sanghāti* forms a graceful semicircular curve between the legs (e.g., No. 232), but when the hands are covered, the front end is trapezoidal in outline (cf., e.g., Nos. 96 and 129). We should therefore expect the hands here to be covered. I know of only one stone example where the covered hands occur together with the semicircular end piece, a Buddha carved in Gandhāran style on an Indo-Corinthian pilaster, but found near Mathura; see Marshall, *ASI*, 1919-20, p. 41, Pl. XVII, c, right. For another example of a *stucco* figure of the Buddha in meditation with hands uncovered, but with trapezoidal drapery between the legs, see the center Buddha on the photograph from Mound D, Sahri Bahlol, published by Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 111, Pl. XLIV, Fig. 24.

Marshall, *ASI*, No. 7, p. 12, Pl. XII, c. Foucher, *ibid.*, pp. 26, 34. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 377.

Group IV

- 522 THREE BUDDHAS IN MEDITATION. *Jauliān Monastery, in situ*. These Buddhas come from the plinth of the same

stūpa as No. 517, but from the east face, toward the northern end. This was probably one of the earliest of the small stūpas, although no doubt refaced and redecorated at a later date. Both Marshall and Foucher agree that the present Buddhas are but late and clumsy restorations of earlier images, executed shortly before the final destruction. In this connection it is interesting to look at the right knee of the central Buddha, which shows clear evidence of at least one earlier rendering. Whereas the drapery between the legs of this Buddha has a trapezoidal shape, that of his two counterparts has the semicircular form seen on Nos. 515, 517-18. Unfortunately, the hands of the central Buddha have been damaged, so we cannot ascertain whether they are covered, as on the stone Buddhas, or uncovered, as on No. 521. A Kharoshtī inscription incised on the base toward the north end furnishes other evidence of a *rifacimento* of these images. The first word is to the right, the remaining three on the left end. The whole inscription reads, according to Konow (p. 94, No. 2): "Gift of the friar Buddhadeva, Samghamitra." The last word means "friend of the order" and was probably an honorific title conferred on Buddhadeva by the community of monks. Konow points out that the actual lettering of the inscription shows a striking lack of uniformity, old and new forms appearing side by side. He explains this inconsistency by suggesting that knowledge of the Kharoshtī script survived only sporadically, and that individual writers tried their best to imitate ancient forms when old images were restored. The present relief probably was subject to such a restoration process in the early fifth century A.D. The reliefs are executed in appliqué technique, the body of each figure having apparently been applied first, then

the halo and the head, and the whole subsequently covered by a slip.

Marshall, *MAI*, No. 7, 1921, pp. 9-10, Pl. VIII, a. Foucher, *ibid.*, p. 35. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 157, left. Konow, *CII*, II, 1, pp. 92-94, No. XXXVI, No. 2, Pl. XXVIII, 2. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 524, No. 41; III, Pl. 155, b.
Group IV

- 523 THE BUDDHA PREACHING. *Jauliān Monastery, in situ*. H. 23". A number of the subsidiary stūpas at Jauliān are decorated in a much more elaborate manner than Stūpa A 15, No. 522. In one of these, A 11, a preaching Buddha is still well preserved in its original place on the west side. Below a small *ushnīsha* the hair is arranged in the characteristic "ladder" fashion; see No. 519. The right shoulder is uncovered, as is usually the case in the teaching pose, but the drapery between the knees differs from both the semicircular and the trapezoidal styles; see No. 521. One might say that there is no longer any "centerpiece," but that the *sanghāti* below the hands is in roughly the shape of a figure 8. A similar arrangement is found also on reliefs of the Buddha (see Nos. 105, 164), of Siddhārta (No. 37), of Maitreya (Nos. 299 and 304), and of Bodhisattvas (Nos. 233, 234, 322).

Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 373; III, Pl. 110, c.
Group IV

- 524 THE BUDDHA PREACHING. *Taxila*, No. 638. From Mohra Moradu. H. 11 3/4". The *sanghāti* of this preaching Buddha is of special interest because it covers both shoulders, whereas in stone, one shoulder, the right, is uncovered in the majority of the preaching Buddhas. There are, however, a few exceptions to this general rule; see Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 319, Fig. 456, and Nos. 252, 256.

- The folds of the present Buddha are rendered by means of flat ridges and broad, shallow grooves. For the date of the stuccos from Mohra Moradu, see No. 497. See also No. 525. Group III (IV)
- 525 THE BUDDHA PREACHING. *Taxila*, No. 1014. From Jauliān Monastery. H. 10", w. 10 3/8". This headless Buddha came from the main stūpa. It, too, has both shoulders covered, but the *sanghāti* does not cover the right knee, as it does on No. 524, but reappears *under* it. Unique, too, is the zigzag edge of the drapery hanging below the right forearm. It is noteworthy that in all three stuccos portraying a Buddha in the attitude of preaching, the feet are covered, whereas in the stone Buddhas of similar pose the feet are generally uncovered; see Nos. 245, 247-49, and Introduction, p. 36. The folds of the present figure are rendered by an alternation of more and less accentuated ridges, over the legs by crowded ridges. Excavation No. JN'16-F109. Group IV
- 526 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 601. From Mohra Moradu. H. 12". The hair has been arranged as on the terra-cotta head No. 497. The arched contour of the eyebrows projects beyond the space above the upper eyelids. The eyes are long and narrow. Excavation No. MM'15-168. Group III (IV)
- 527 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Karachi*, No. 604. From Mohra Moradu. H. 7". This finely modelled head from Cell No. 19 is in excellent state of preservation. The arrangement of the hair is like that of No. 526. Traces of red paint can still be seen on lips, eyelids, forehead, and neck, and the hair is colored gray-black.
Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 26, No. 2, Pl. XX, d, and *Taxila*, II, pp. 522-23, No. 35; III, Pl. 153, a. Group III (IV)
- 528 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 819. From Jauliān. H. 7 1/8". This head is much like the preceding, but of less fine workmanship. Excavation No. JN'16-50. Group IV
- 529 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, No. 169. From Rokri. H. 13". Another head similar in character to No. 528, the lower part of the face being, however, less full. No *urna*. Group III (IV)
- 530 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Karachi*. From *Taxila*. H. 7 1/4". This head is similar to No. 529, but the eyes are almost closed. Group III (IV)
- 531 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Gai Collection, Peshawar*. From Northern Swat. H. 25". Unfortunately, the *ushnisha* is missing on this impressive head of fine and precise modelling. The hair seems to be rendered in a more naturalistic manner than that of the preceding heads. In No. 533 we shall see a similar aquiline nose. Group III (IV)
- 532 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 975. From Jauliān. H. 6 1/8". This is perhaps one of the finest Buddha heads that have yet come to light, remarkable for its exquisite modelling of lips and cheeks. The *ushnisha* is missing. The hair where preserved over the right ear suggests the familiar "ladder" design. A buff slip covers the head; there are still traces of red paint on lips and eyes and of black on hair and eyebrows. Two other heads are comparable: one in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see Codrington in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, pp. 39-40, No. 130); the other, which has almost closed eyes, in the City Art Museum, St. Louis, No. 35-43.31.
Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 526, No. 51; III, Pl. 153, b. Group IV

- 533 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 2706. From Jauliān. H. $21\frac{1}{2}$ ". This head was found northeast of the main stūpa. It is in an excellent state of preservation; part of the back only is missing, and the ears are damaged. The depression of the *urna* indicates that some precious material once was inserted here. The modelling is of the same high order as that of No. 532, from which it differs by a more flowing treatment of the hair, with undercutting as on Nos. 497 and 503, and a pronounced aquiline nose.
Marshall, *MAI*, No. 7, 1921, p. 6, Pl. IV, b. Foucher, *ibid.*, p. 25. Group IV
- 534 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 635. From Mohra Moradu. H. 15". The arrangement of the hair, with its prominent vertical divisions, recalls that of No. 523. Excavation No. MM'15-232. Group III (IV)
- 535 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Lahore*, no number. H. $10\frac{1}{8}$ ". This head is similar in shape to the preceding, but the hair below the missing *ushnisha* is more like that of No. 526. Group III (IV)
- 536 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 1763. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 9". The hair below the missing *ushnisha* seems to represent a coarse rendering of the arrangement seen on No. 526. The face itself is unusually broad; the upper eyelids have a decided slant upwards. Excavation No. DH'12-1690. Group IV
- 537 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 948. From Jauliān. H. $7\frac{1}{8}$ ". This head was found west of the main stūpa and evidently was cast in the same mold as two heads published in Marshall, *MAI*, No. 7, 1921, Pl. XIX, d and e; see also Foucher, *ibid.*, p. 25. The hair below the *ushnisha* runs in horizontal, wavy lines.
Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 526-27, No. 52; III, Pl. 158, a. Group IV
- 538 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Taxila*, No. 1659. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. 6". This head looks like a twin of No. 534, but the face is quite a bit rounder. Excavation No. DH'14-566. Group III (IV)
- 539 HEAD OF THE BUDDHA. *Karachi*, -40 From Sirkap, 1915. H. $13\frac{1}{2}$ ". In a general way this head recalls Nos. 527, 528: the same arrangement of the hair of the *ushnisha*, the same rather full lower face, and the same well-preserved surface. The hair below the *ushnisha* is, however, more like that of No. 538 in its emphasis on the vertical, dividing lines. The upper eyelids slant upwards, as on No. 536. Group IV
- 541 BODHISATTVA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1645. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C, 1912. H. 17". This Bodhisattva was found decorating the base of a stūpa, together with a Buddha, No. 518, and another Bodhisattva, No. 542. He sits within an Indian arch. A scarf with twisted ends is brought forward, crossed, and tied at the nape of the neck. Besides the *dhori*, he wears only a shawl draped around the arms and shoulders. Two necklaces, an armlet, and two bracelets on each arm complete his costume. For a similar double bandeau, one may compare a head in the Seattle Art Museum (No. 117) and a head from Hadda (see Barthoux, *Fouilles de Hadda*, III, p. 15, Pl. 35, b).
Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 108, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 32. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 99. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 72. Group III (IV)
- 542 BODHISATTVA IN MEDITATION. *Peshawar*, No. 1481. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C, 1912. H. $18\frac{3}{4}$ ", w. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Found together with a Buddha, No. 518, and the preceding Bodhisattva, this figure can certainly be identified as Maitreya by the double, horizontal loop of hair on his head; cf. Nos. 291, 294-96, 302, 306. A row of curls frames the face just below the bandeau; cf. No. 296. The costume is like that of No. 541; the way in which the end of the shawl passes over the left forearm, just below the elbow, recalls a similar arrangement on another Maitreya, No. 299. In addition to necklace and bracelet, the present figure also wears a shoulder chain; cf. the Bodhisattvas Nos. 281, 296, 306.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XLII, Fig. 20. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 99, Case 66 (here apparently given the number 1653). Shakur, *Guide*, p. 72.

Group III (IV)

- 543 **BODHISATTVA IN MEDITATION.** *Jauliān Monastery.* Of Stūpa D₄ at Jauliān, only the base has survived. Its decoration is divided into three tiers. The base molding rests on foreparts of lions alternating with Atlantes. Above them, separated by stunted Indo-Corinthian pilasters, is a row of niches, alternating trefoil and trapezoidal. Within the niches sit Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. In the particular niche here shown a Bodhisattva, adorned with a fantail headdress, necklaces, and bracelets, is seated under a trefoil arch in the attitude of meditation. On either side of the niche is a worshipper. For a complete picture of the base, see Marshall, *Taxila*, III, Pl. 157, a-b.

Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 524-25.

Group IV

- 544 **HEAD OF BODHISATTVA SIDDHARTHA.** *Labore*, no number. From Rokri. H. 8¼". Because of its similarity to the heads on Nos. 282 and 286, this

head probably represents that of Bodhisattva Siddharta. The hair is rendered in quite a naturalistic manner, with much undercutting. The modelling of the face is of very high order, the sensitive mouth similar to that of Nos. 532 and 533.

Group III

- 545 **HEAD OF BODHISATTVA.** *Peshawar*, No. 1032 M. From Shpola Stūpa in Khyber Pass. H. 5½". A bandeau with central rectangular ornament encircles the head. Below the bandeau, in front and at the sides, is a series of corkscrew curls. The modelling of the face is of the same high quality as that of No. 544. The mouth, however, is stronger, and the upper eyelids slant slightly upwards. Red coloring is applied to both the lips and the eyes; cf. No. 520. For heads with similar curls along the forehead and over the ears, cf. a head from Sirkap: Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 518, No. 5, and III, Pl. 148; also a head in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, and a head from Ushkar: Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 153, Pl. LVIII, a.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 75.

Group IV (III)

- 546 **HEAD OF BODHISATTVA.** *Taxila*, No. 1831. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa, Chapel B 12. H. 9". Under a narrow, triple bandeau, three horizontal rows of wavy locks with definite vertical divisions border the brow. Two large locks almost cover the ears; above the bandeau the hair apparently flows from the *ushnisha* in almost straight strands.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 13, No. 3, Pl. V, c. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, pp. 45, 162, Pl. XIII, No. 46 ("about 300 A.D."). Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 529, No. 77; III, Pl. 159, i.

Group III (IV)

- 547 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 602. From Mohra Moradu. H. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ". East of the main stūpa a number of detached heads were found, among them two of Bodhisattvas, No. 557 and the present head. The hair is rendered in horizontal, wavy strands, parted in the middle and encircled by a fillet. The ears are covered by two upturned curls. The eyes are elongated, and the eyelids slant upwards, as on No. 545. A similar head was found at Jauliān; see Marshall, *MASI*, No. 7, 1921, Pl. XXI, s.

Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 523, No. 36; III, Pl. 153, d. Group III (IV)

- 548 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Peshawar*, No. 1613. From Sahri Bahlol, Mound C. H. 7". The princely ornament on this head, as on Nos. 501, 549, and 557, raises the question of whether a human or a divine being is portrayed. It seems to me that if the *urna* is missing, no definite decision can be made, other than the probability that heads with pronounced individualistic features represent human beings. The *urna* definitely identifies the present head as that of a Bodhisattva. The head is covered by a kind of cap with a fantail topknot and two crossed, floral wreaths below, as on No. 541.

Aurel Stein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. XLII, Fig. 17, center. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 72.

Group III (IV)

- 549 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 890. From Jauliān, court of main stūpa. H. $2\frac{3}{8}$ ". Unfortunately, this head is much damaged. The fantail crest is obvious (cf. Nos. 330 and 550), but more problematic is the nature of the figure on the crest. If it could be shown to be a Buddha seated in the pose of meditation, the Bodhisattva to which the head belongs

would be an Avalokitesvara; see No. 326. Attached to the turban on each side is a disk; cf. No. 556.

Aiyar, *MASI*, No. 7, 1921, p. 46, No. 61, Pl. XXI, l. Group IV

- 550 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 1384. From Sirkap, found near the apsidal temple. H. $13\frac{1}{2}$ ". The turban is decorated by three plain bands, one horizontal and two crossing one another like those on No. 541. In the back is a fantail crest with a tapering tenon in the center, as on Nos. 316, 317. There are traces of a mustache, not part of the mold, but added separately. The nose is long and thin, the jaw rather heavy. From stratum II (Parthian).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 24, No. 1, Pl. XVII, a. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 141, left ("at the latest, middle of 1. Century A.D."). Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 14, n. 1. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949, p. 4, Fig. 12, left ("royal donor"). Marshall, in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 131 ("about 50 A.D."). Group III (IV)

- 551 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 838. From Jauliān, east of main stūpa. H. 4". Two bands cross the turban, as on No. 541, and on the crown of the head is a fantail topknot, as on No. 548. Big snail-shell curls border the forehead.

Aiyar, *MASI*, No. 7, 1921, p. 45, No. 41, Pl. XX, k. Foucher, *ibid.*, p. 27.

Group IV

- 552 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Peshawar*, No. 1247. H. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ". As on No. 550, a triple band encircles the head, an oval medallion marking the place where the ends meet above the center of the brow. On the crown of the head there was prob-

- ably a topknot. The rather broad nose and wide-open eyes may bespeak a princely donor. Group III (IV)
- 553 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Karachi*, No. 1847. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". On top of this benign-looking head is a turban, tied in a knot on the left. Excavation No. DH'15-183. Group III (IV)
- 554 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 1452. From Giri. H. 7". This turban seems likewise to have been tied, but on the right. In the front center is a rectangular jewel. The ears are covered by curling locks. The face itself is longer and thinner than that of the preceding Bodhisattvas of stucco. Group III (IV)
- 555 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 619. From Mohra Moradu. H. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". The turban seems to be tied at the top of the head, and from the knot three pearl-like ornaments hang down, almost touching the brow. A similar head is published by Bussagli in *Archeologia Classica*, V, 1953, p. 74, Pl. XXX. Excavation No. MM15-176. Group III (IV)
- 556 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 615. From Mohra Moradu. H. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". The turban of this head is even more elaborate. The bandeau encircling the head has a disk on either side of the front. Two others were no doubt similarly placed at the back, connected with those in front by bands that arch over the head. Between the disks in front rises a triangular ornament above which there may have been a fantail finial. Wavy locks practically cover the ears; cf. No. 554. Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 27, No. 4, Pl. XX, f. Group III (IV)
- 557 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Karachi*, No. 603. From Mohra Moradu, east of the main stūpa. H. $4\frac{7}{8}$ ". On this turban, as on No. 554, there is a central, rectangular ornament, flanked by two twisted bands, the curving ends of which are fastened to the side of the bandeau. In front of the right ear a row of three horizontal curls can be seen, whereas behind the ear vertical strands of hair fall on the nape of the neck. There are traces of crimson on the lips; the hair is gray-black. Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 26, No. 3, Pl. XX, e, and in *Taxila*, II, p. 523, No. 38; III, Pl. 153, c. Group III (IV)
- 558 HEAD OF BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 1455. From Giri. H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". In the front center of the bandeau remains of a rectangular centerpiece can be seen, framed by vertical lines and decorated with beads. Group III (IV)
- 559 HEAD OF DEITY. *Taxila*, No. 872. From Jauliān. H. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". The hair is rendered in the same flat manner as on the Buddha heads Nos. 518 and 520. The pattern of the depressions seems to follow closely the more plastic arrangement of heads like Nos. 526 and 528. Above the center of the forehead a deeper, arched depression may mark the position of an inset stone. No *ushnīsha* can be seen; behind the right ear is a curly lock, in its naturalistic character quite different from the rest of the hair; cf. a head likewise from *Taxila*: Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 530, No. 87, III, Pl. 161, b. The modelling of the full, round face is excellent, the wide-open eyes giving it a very alert expression. Group IV
- 560 HEAD OF SATYR. *Karachi*, No. 1359. From Sirkap, found in the apsidal temple. H. $7\frac{7}{8}$ ". This head well portrays the fea-

tures of a typical Hellenistic satyr: pointed ears, broad and flat nose, mustache, beard, and free-flowing locks. The contracted brows and open mouth, which give the face a certain "dynamic animation" (Rowland), can be traced ultimately to Pergamene influence; see also Nos. 387, 390, 395. For a stone satyr, see No. 397. Found in stratum II (Parthian).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 24, No. 3, Pl. XVII, c. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Pl. 141, right (at the latest, middle of the 1st century). Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 14, n. 1. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949, p. 3, Fig. 1 (1st century A.D.). Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 517, No. 1; III, Pl. 148, No. 1. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 160, Pl. XXXI, B.

Group III (II)

- 561 STATUETTE OF WARRIOR. *Peshawar*, No. 13. From Sahri Bahlol, near northeast end of main stūpa. H. 18¾". This figure originally stood at the left of an arch, above the volute. The warrior wears, over a tunic reaching to the knees, a double-skirted cuirass. This piece of protection consists of imbricated mail below, and above, coming up to the breasts, a sort of waistcoat, probably of leather and tied in front. On his feet are high boots; in his left hand he holds a figure-8 shield. For imbricated mail, cf. Nos. 63, 64; for a similar triple costume, a stucco figure from Hadda: Barthoux, *Fouilles de Hadda*, III, p. 25, Pl. 111, b.

Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, pp. 106-07, Pl. XXXV, 3, and in *Handbook*, p. 33. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, p. 60. Shakur, *Guide*, p. 72.

Group III (IV)

- 562 BOY ATTENDANT. *Taxila*, No. 1631. From Dharmarājikā, east gate of main stūpa. H. 7¼". Only the torso and the

right thigh have been preserved. Except for a scarf over his shoulders, and a necklace, the boy is nude; the right arm was raised. The figure may portray a boy attendant, for they are generally represented in a similar state of nudity; see Foucher, in *MASI*, No. 7, 1921, pp. 28-29.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 8, No. 3, and *Taxila*, II, p. 530, No. 82, a; III, Pl. 156, b.

Group III (IV)

- 563 KNEELING BODHISATTVA. *Taxila*, No. 1549. From Kālawān. H. 6½". This figure kneels on the right knee; the left leg is bent at the knee. On his head is the double, oblique knot that we have associated with Maitreya; cf. Nos. 309 and 311. The rest of the hair is rendered by wavy, horizontal strands on the head and by what looks like a solid mass over the shoulders. He is dressed in a robe that leaves his right shoulder uncovered, and a scarf. His hands are clasped in adoration, an attitude suitable to either a devotee or a Bodhisattva. The peculiar double knot does, however, tip the scales in favor of a Bodhisattva, probably Maitreya. Excavation No. KN'31-594. Group III (IV)

- 564 KNEELING BODHISATTVA. *Peshawar*, No. 1037 M. From Shpola Stūpa in the Khyber Pass. H. 8¾". This figure is likewise kneeling, but on his *left* knee and with his *right* leg bent at the knee. On his head is a turban with bandeau, under which the hair appears, covering both ears and the nape of the neck. He is dressed like the preceding figure, but his robe covers both shoulders; on each wrist are two bracelets and around the neck a collar. His hands are raised in adoration, his head bent slightly downwards to the left.

Shakur, *Guide*, p. 75.

Group III (IV)

565 HEAD OF ASCETIC. *Peshawar*, No. 1101 M. From Shpola Stūpa in the Khyber Pass. H. $10\frac{3}{4}$ ". The Gandhāran coroplast in modelling this old, bald ascetic has produced a real masterpiece. It recalls similar heads of ascetics (cf. Nos. 428, 434, 436, 437), but none of them possesses the dignified peace of mind that radiates from this figure. Group III (IV)

566 HEAD OF MONK. *Taxila*, No. 1413. From Sirkap. H. 6". On this head there was no doubt a topknot, from which straight strands of hair are combed down over the forehead. The face is broad, the eyes open and large, the lips smiling, with teeth visible. The ascetic in the upper row to the right on the Sirkap relief No. 430 seems to have a similar hair arrangement. Found in stratum II (Parthian).

Marshall, *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 24, No. 2, Pl. XVII, b. Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949, p. 4, Fig. 9 (1st century A.D.). Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 519, No. 13; III, Pl. 148, No. 13. Group III (IV)

567 HEAD OF LAYMAN. *Taxila*, No. 1594. From Bhamala. H. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". The head here portrayed is evidently that of some donor. He has large, open eyes, highly arched eyebrows, a drooping mustache, and across the forehead a bandeau. But most characteristic is the way in which the abundant hair is arranged. It is parted in the middle and flows down and back, covering the ears in curved, parallel locks that continue to the shoulders. For Bhamala, see Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 391-97.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. 1, p. 158; Pt. 2, Pl. XC, c; and *Taxila*, I, p. 396; II, p. 532, No. 102; III, Pl. 161, q.

Group III (IV)

568 MALE PRINCELY HEAD. *Taxila*, No. 1551. From Kālawān. H. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". The turban with the triple bandeau recalls

Nos. 550, 552, but the three bands here meet on the left side of the head. Attached to the crossing-point of the bands is an ornament of uncertain type; cf., however, two heads from Jauliān: Marshall, *ASI*, No. 7, 1921, Pls. XX, p, and XXI, e. The individual features, the rather broad nose, and the slightly open mouth favor the identification of this head as that of a princely worshipper. Excavation No. KM'31-194. Group III (IV)

569 MALE PRINCELY HEAD. *Peshawar*, No. 1214. From Takht-i-Bahai. H. $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". Under a rather flat crown curly locks frame this face and cover the ears, except for the large earrings, which bespeak a person of princely rank.

Group III (IV)

570 HEAD OF ASCETIC. *Taxila*, No. 1424. From Dharmarājikā Stūpa. H. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". In this head, too, the Gandhāran coroplast with assured mastery has modelled a head from life. Portrayed is an ascetic with drawn features, deep-set eyes, and a rather sorrowful expression. The ear lobes are lengthened, as if the man had been accustomed to wearing heavy earrings. The head was probably shaven.

Marshall, *ASI*, 1915-16, p. 9, No. 13, Pl. III, f; and in *Taxila*, II, p. 530, No. 84; III, Pl. 160, g.

Group III (IV)

571 MALE PRINCELY HEAD. *Taxila*, No. 1474. From Giri. H. $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". Around the turban is a double bandeau, tied in front and decorated at the center by an oval ornament. Above this centerpiece are two other ornaments, the first rectangular. The deep-set eyes and the contracted eyebrows give this face quite a Caracallan look.

Group III (IV)

- 572 HEAD OF LAYMAN. *Taxila*, No. 777. From Jauliān, east of the main stūpa. H. $10\frac{3}{8}$ ". In spite of the classical-looking wreath, the Orientalized features betray the Indian origin.
Aiyar, *MAI*, No. 7, 1921, p. 44, No. 35, Pl. XXIV, a. Foucher, *ibid.*, p. 39. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 528, No. 71; III, Pl. 159, c. Group IV
- 573 MALE HEAD. *Labore*, No. 1142. From Peshawar Valley. H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". Around the curly hair is a broad bandeau with central medallion. The deep-set eyes look upwards to the left; cf. No. 570. The face as a whole is rendered in such a realistic manner that it borders on caricature.
Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 21, Fig. 311. Group III (IV)
- 574 HEAD OF FOREIGNER. *Labore*, No. 166. From Rokri. H. $12\frac{3}{4}$ ". The pointed cap, decorated at the base with a row of squares, characterizes the head as that of a foreigner. Above the ears and under the cap on the forehead snail-shell curls can be seen. For a similar triangular headdress, see the stucco figure of a donor from Jauliān: Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 471, No. 181; III, Pl. 139, No. 181, a.
- Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 97, Fig. 354. Group III (IV)
- 575 HEAD OF FOREIGNER. *Labore*, No. 175. From Rokri. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ". The manner in which the hair is combed forward in wavy strands, bent under at the tips, recalls the hair of Lūhasudatta on No. 255 and that of the donor on No. 341. The lobe of the ear is distended.
Foucher, *AGBG*, II, p. 97, Fig. 355. Group III (IV)
- 576 HEAD OF LION. *Peshawar*, No. 1237. From Takht-i-Bahai. W. $2\frac{5}{8}$ ". This leonine but not too terrifying head with protruding tongue no doubt came from the base of a stūpa; cf. No. 543. Group III (IV)
- 577 GODDESS ON BACK OF LION. *Peshawar*, No. W. U. 577. H. $11\frac{3}{8}$ ". On a rectangular platform a lion reclines, facing right, the head turned to the left. It looks toward a female figure, undoubtedly a goddess, who is standing on its back. Of the goddess only the feet and the hem of her garment can be seen. The tail of the lion hangs down on the base from over its right hind leg. Group III (IV)

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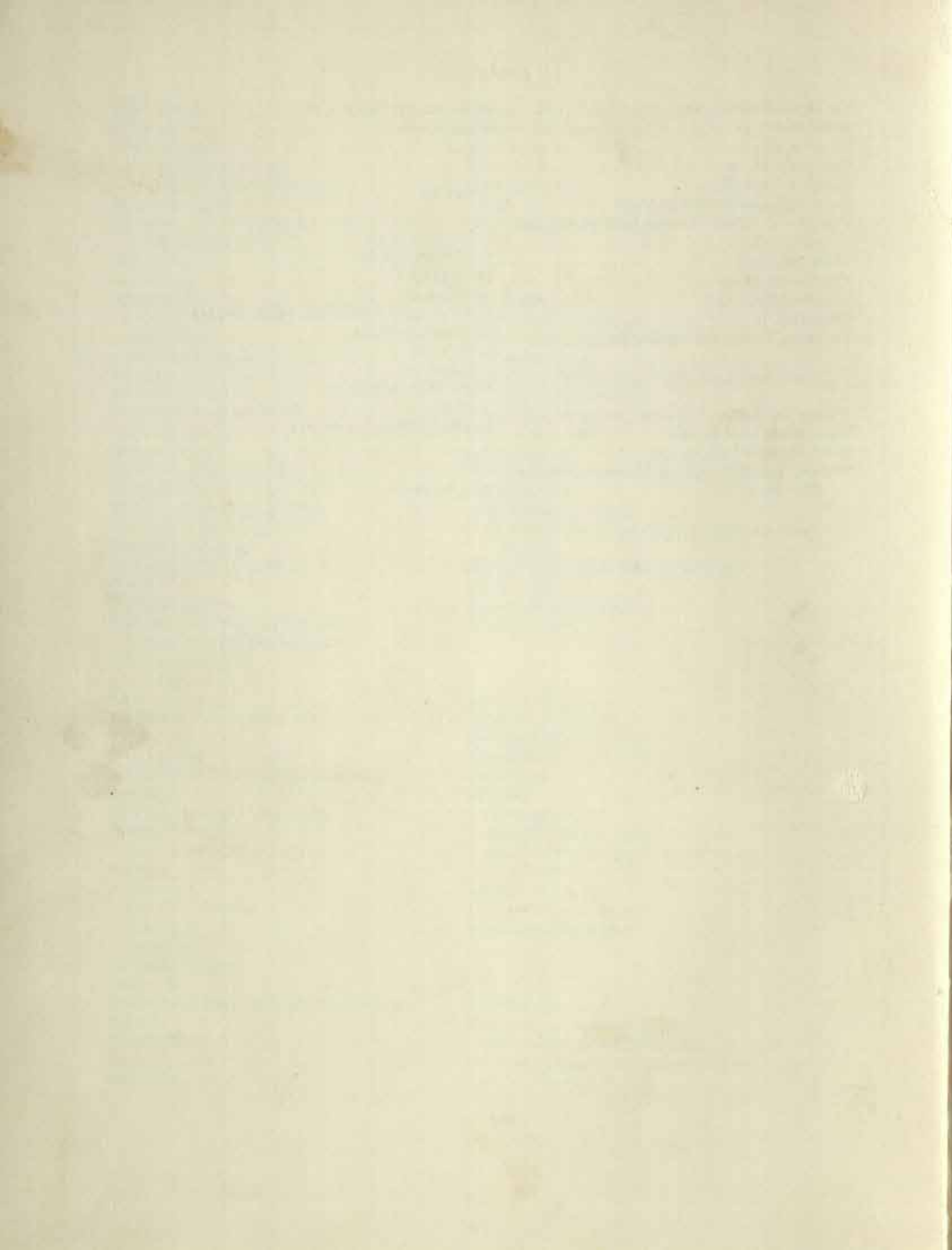
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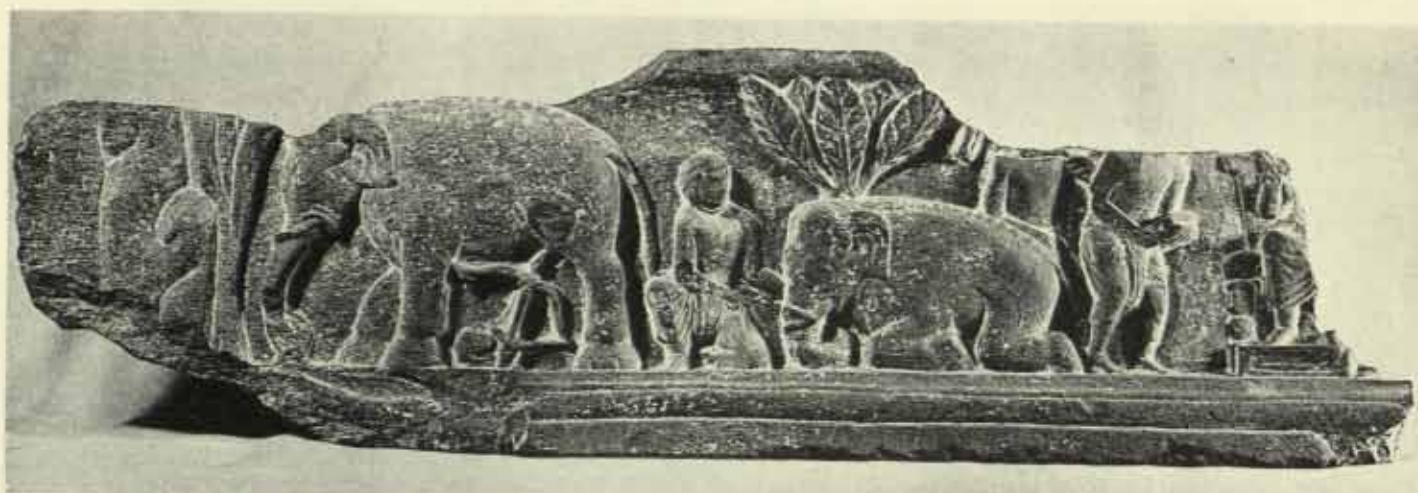
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PLATES

THE HISTORY
OF
THE
CITY OF
BOSTON



1. Lahore *The Six-Tusked Elephant*. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



2. Peshawar *Adventures and Punishment of Maitrakanyaka*. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



3. Peshawar *Adventures and Punishment of Maitrakanyaka*. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



4. Peshawar *The Faithful Amara.* 6½"



5. Peshawar *Son of Blind Ascetics Is Killed by the King.* 7"



6. Peshawar *Visvantara Gives Away the Choice Elephant.* 7¾"



7. Lahore *Buddha-to-be Throws Flowers at Dipankara Buddha.* Sikri Stūpa. 13"



8. Lahore *Buddha-to-be in the Tushita Heaven.* Sikri Stūpa. 13"



9. Lahore *Dream of Queen Māyā*. 7½"



10. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Dream of Māyā (right). Interpretation of Dream*. 7"



11. Lahore *Interpretation of Māyā's Dream.* 6 5/8"



12. Peshawar *Interpretation of Māyā's Dream.* 6"



13. Peshawar *Māyā Gives Birth to Siddhārta.* 10 1/4"



14. Karachi *Birth of Siddhārta and the Seven Steps.* 26"



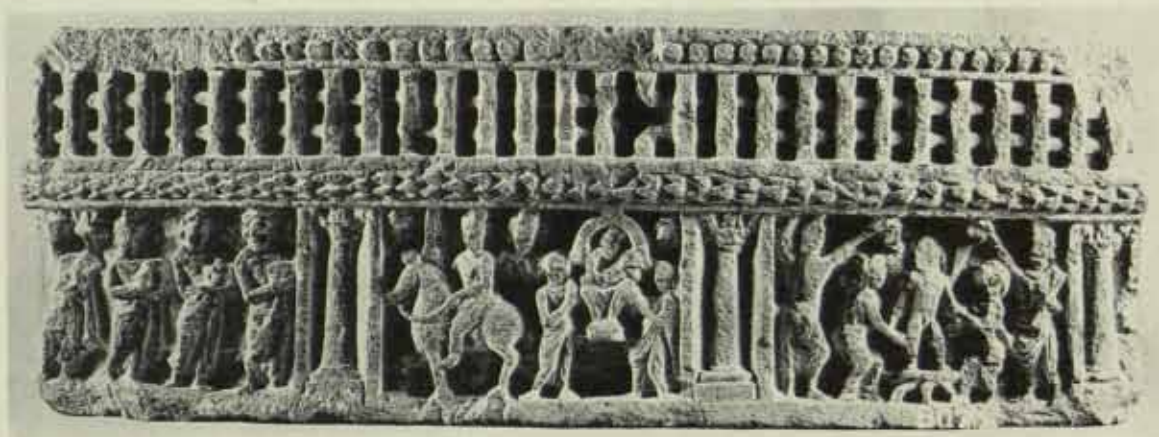
15. Lahore *Birth of Siddhārta and the Seven Steps.* 7½"



16. Peshawar *Bath of the Newborn Child.* 10⅜"



17. Karachi *Māyā and Siddhārta Return to Kapilavastu.* 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



18. Lahore *Bath of Siddhārta (right). Return to Kapilavastu. Procession of Citizens.* 6"



19. Karachi *Birth of Siddhārta's Groom Chamdaka and of His Horse Kanthaka.* 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



20. Peshawar *Siddhārta's Horoscope Is Explained to Siddhodana and Māyā.* 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



21. Lahore *Siddhārta's Horoscope Is Explained.* 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



22. Lahore *Interpretation of Horoscope (right). Siddhārta in School.* 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



23. Peshawar *Siddhārta Rides to School.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



24. Lahore *Siddhārta in School.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



25. Peshawar *Siddhārta in School.* 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



26. Peshawar *The State Elephant Sent to Siddhārta.* 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



27. Peshawar Wrestlers. $4\frac{3}{4}$ "



28. Peshawar Wrestlers. $6\frac{5}{8}$ "



29. Lahore Siddhārta Competes in Wrestling and Tug-of-War. $8\frac{1}{2}$ "



30. Peshawar Siddhārta Competes in Wrestling and Archery. Siddhārta and the Dead Elephant. $9\frac{1}{4}$ "



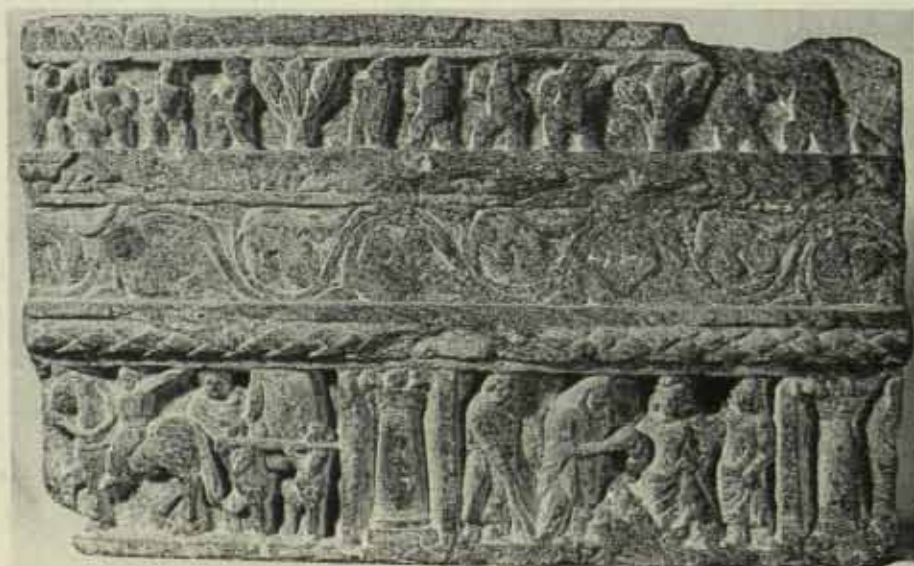
31. Lahore *Royal Chaplain Introduces Yasodharā*. 10¼"



32. Peshawar *Royal Chaplain Introduces Yasodharā*. 12¼"



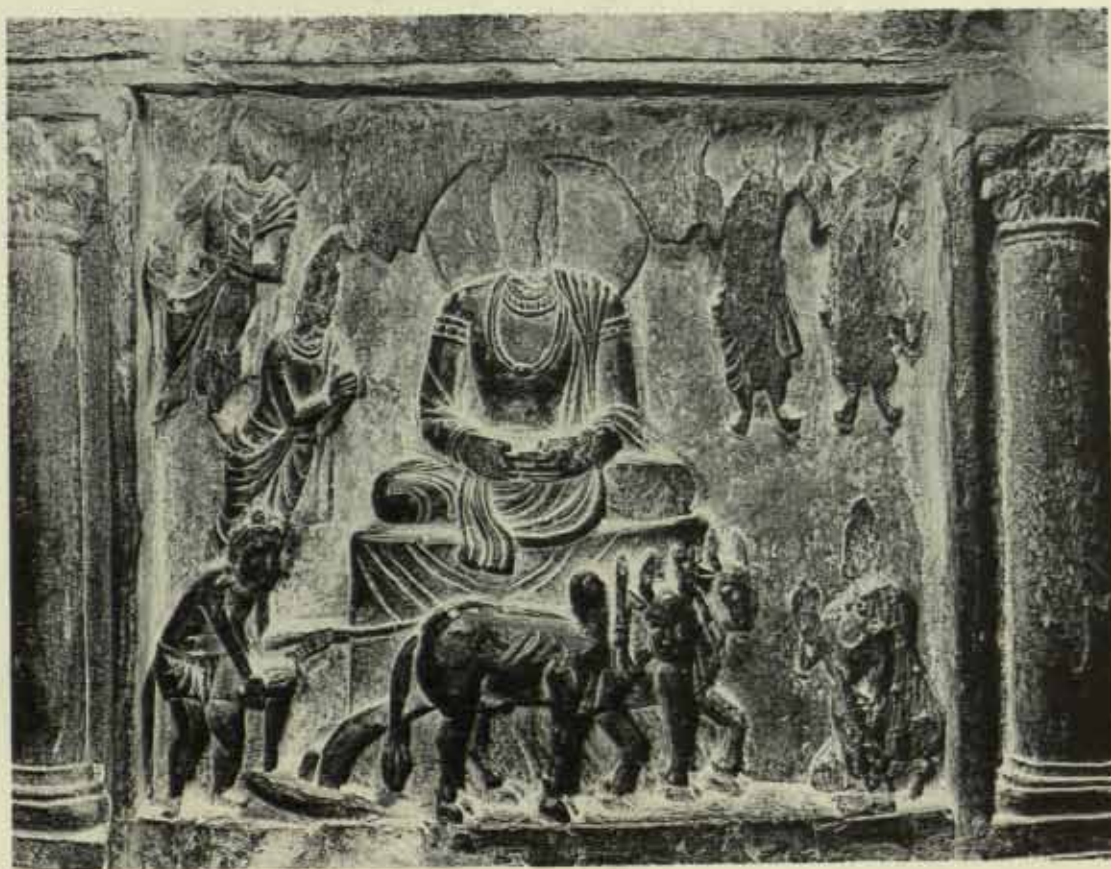
33. Peshawar *Marriage of Siddhārtha and Yasodharā*. 5¾"



34. Lahore *Marriage of Siddhārtha and Yasodharā (right). Bridal Procession*. 7¾"



35. Karachi *Bridal Procession*. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



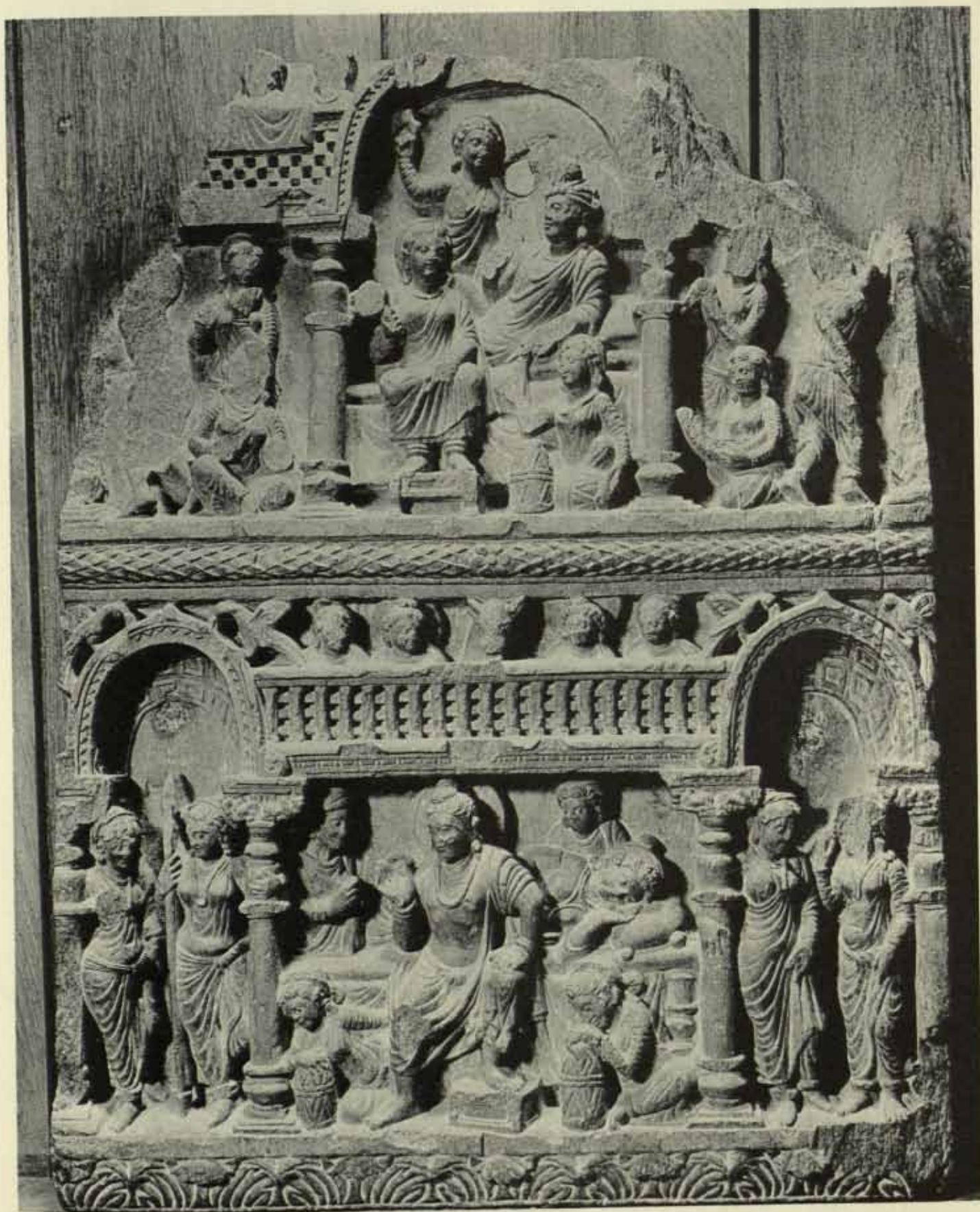
36. Lahore *The First Meditation*. *Sikri Sūpa*. 13"



37. Taxila *The Gods Exhort Siddhārta to Renounce the World.* 8¾"



38. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Life in the Palace.* 10½"



39, A-B. Karachi *Life in the Palace* (A). *The Renunciation* (B). 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



40. Lahore *Life in the Palace, The Remunciation, The Great Departure.* 24½"



41. Peshawar *Life in the Palace, Yasodharā Asleep.* 10 ¾"



42. Taxila *Sleeping Woman.* 2"



43. Taxila *Sleeping Women.* 19 ½"



44. Peshawar *The Renunciation*. 8"



45. Peshawar *Life in the Palace (right). The Great Departure*. 8 3/4"



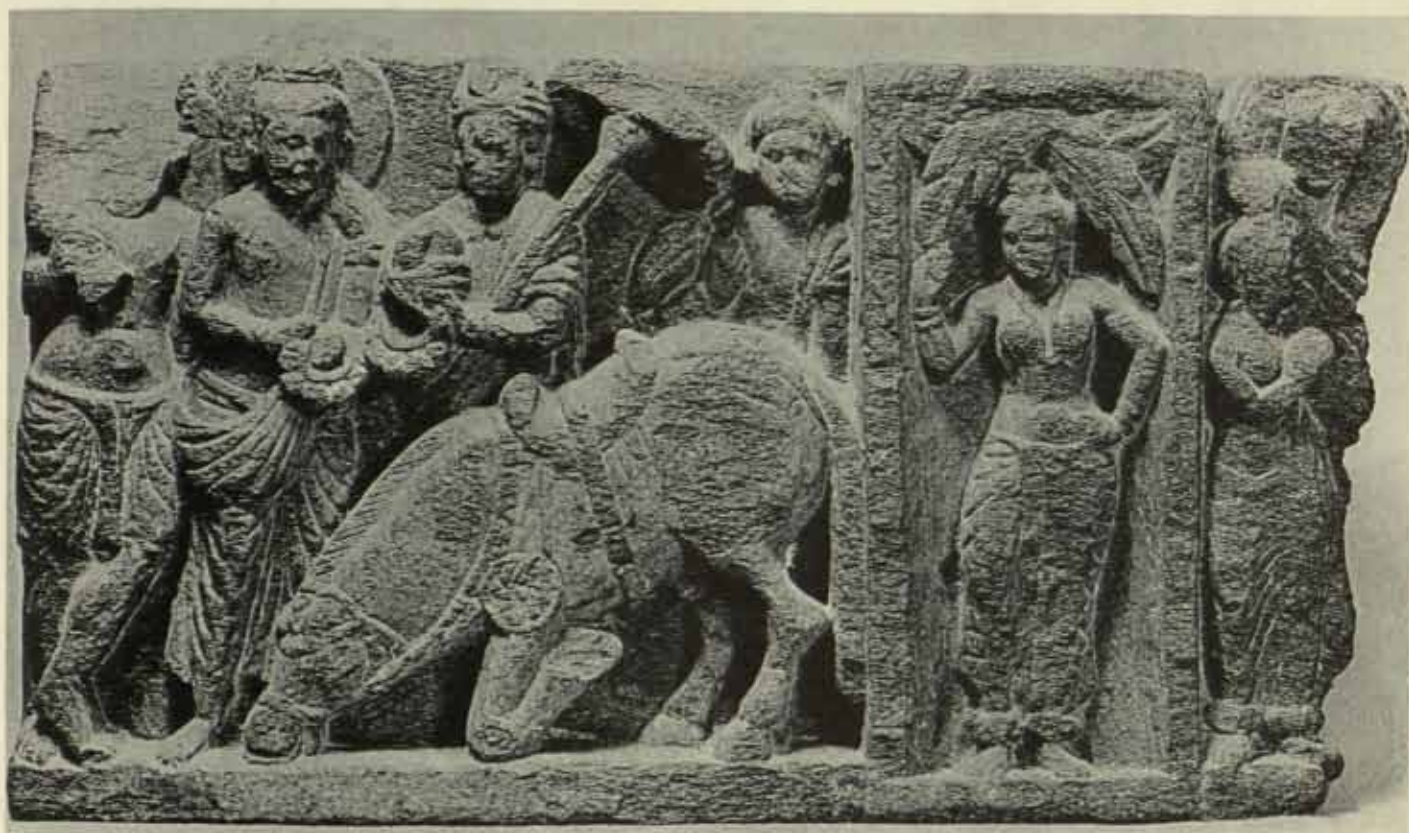
46. Lahore *Siddhārta Exchanges Clothes with the Hunter*. 5 3/4"



47. Lahore *The Great Departure*. 8"



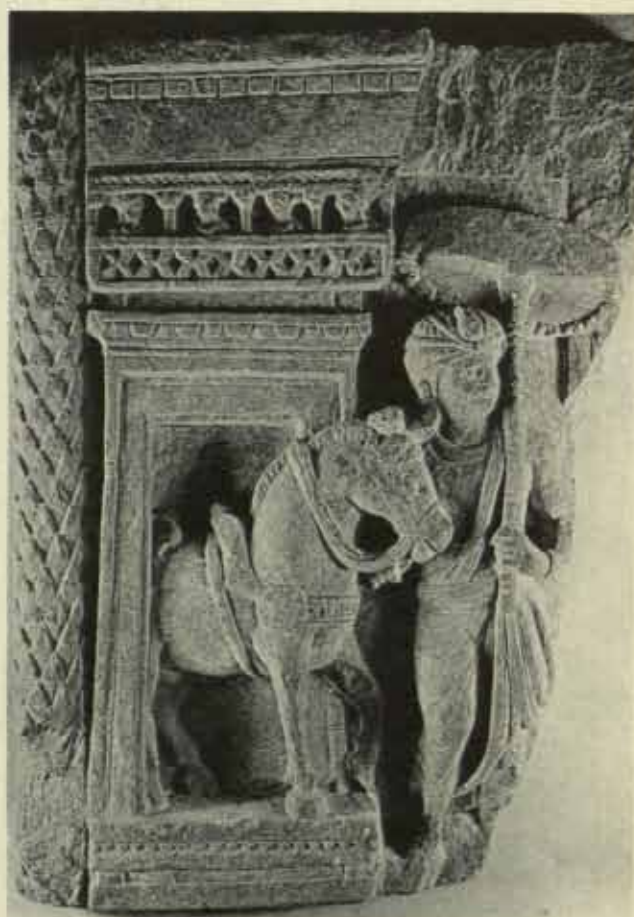
48. Lahore *The Great Departure (right). Exchange of Clothes*. 10½"



49. Lahore *Chandaka Receives Turban and Jewels. Farewell of Kanthaka.* 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



50. Peshawar *Cult of the Turban.* 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



51. Lahore *Chandaka and Kanthaka Return.* 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



52 Lahore Siddharta Fasting. 33"



53. Peshawar *Siddhārta Fasting*. 32 1/4"



54. Peshawar *First Meeting with the Brahmins.* 15½"



55. Lahore *Siddhārta Fasting.* 10½"



56. Lahore *Hymn of the Nāga Kālīka and Wife. Sikri Stūpa. 13"*



57, A-B. *The Buddha and Worshippers (A). Hymn of the Nāga Kālīka and Wife (B). 20 3/4"*



58. Peshawar *Wife of the Nāga Kālīka, Worshippers. 20"*



59. Peshawar Grasscutter Offers Grass for the Seat of the Enlightenment. 15 5/8"



60. Lahore Grasscutter Offers Grass for the Seat of the Enlightenment. 13"



61. Peshawar *The Temptation by Māra and His Daughters.* 7½"



62. Peshawar *The Temptation by Māra and His Daughters.* 8¾"



63. Peshawar *The Attack by Māra and His Host.* 10⅞"



64. Lahore *Host of Māra*. 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



65. Lahore *Host of Māra*. 13"



66. Peshawar *Attack by Māra and His Host*. 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



67. Peshawar *Two Merchants Offer Food to the Buddha.* Base of 53. 7"



68. Lahore *Offering of the Four Bowls.* Sikri Stūpa. 13"



69. Lahore *Offering of the Four Bowls.* 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



70. Lahore *The Gods Entreat the Buddha to Preach.* Sikri Stūpa. 13"



71. Lahore *Indra and Brahma Entreat the Buddha to Preach.* 10"



72. Peshawar *The Gods Entreat the Buddha to Preach.* 15 5/8"



73. Lahore *The Gods Entreat the Buddha to Preach.* 9"



74. Peshawar *Preparations for the First Sermon.* 8"



75. Taxila *The First Sermon, Turning of the Wheel of the Law.* 19"



76. Lahore *The First Sermon.* $6\frac{1}{2}$ "



77. Peshawar *The First Sermon, Turning of the Wheel of the Law.* $15\frac{1}{2}$ "



78. Peshawar *Symbolic Representation of the First Sermon.* $4\frac{3}{8}$ "



79. Lahore *Symbolic Representation of the First Sermon.* $12\frac{3}{8}$ "



80. Lahore *Miracle of the Fire before the Kāśyapas at Uruvilva.* 538"



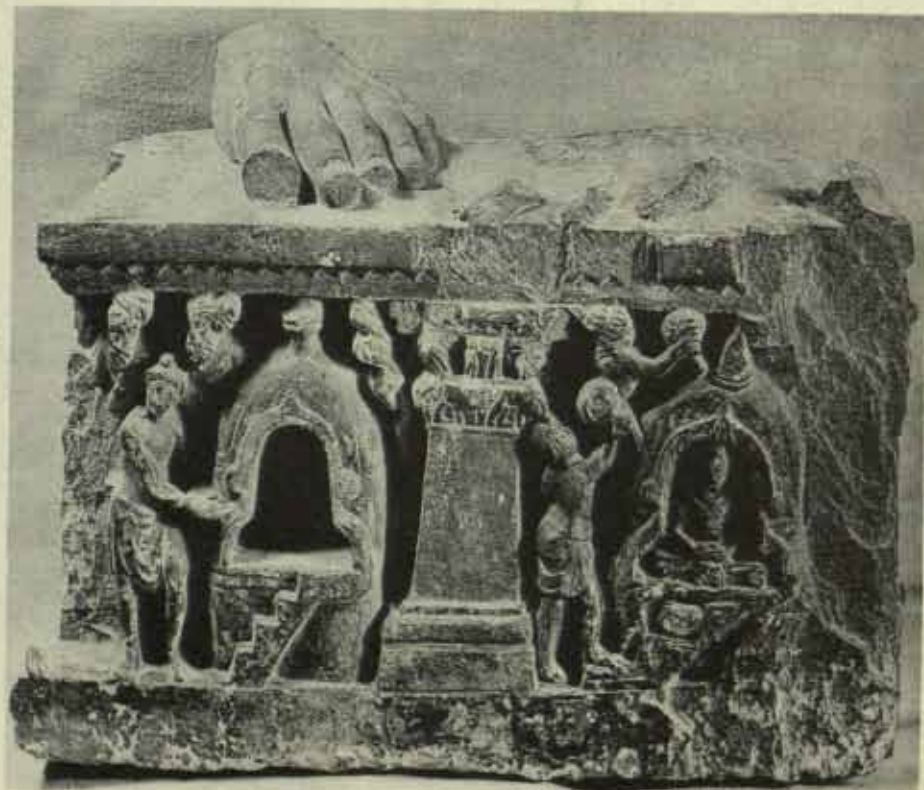
81. Lahore *The Buddha and the Black Serpent in the Fire Temple at Uruvilva.* 538"



82. Lahore *The Buddha Visited by Brahman Ascetics.* 538"



83. Lahore *Ascetics Try to Extinguish the Supposed Conflagration of the Fire Temple.* 23 3/4"



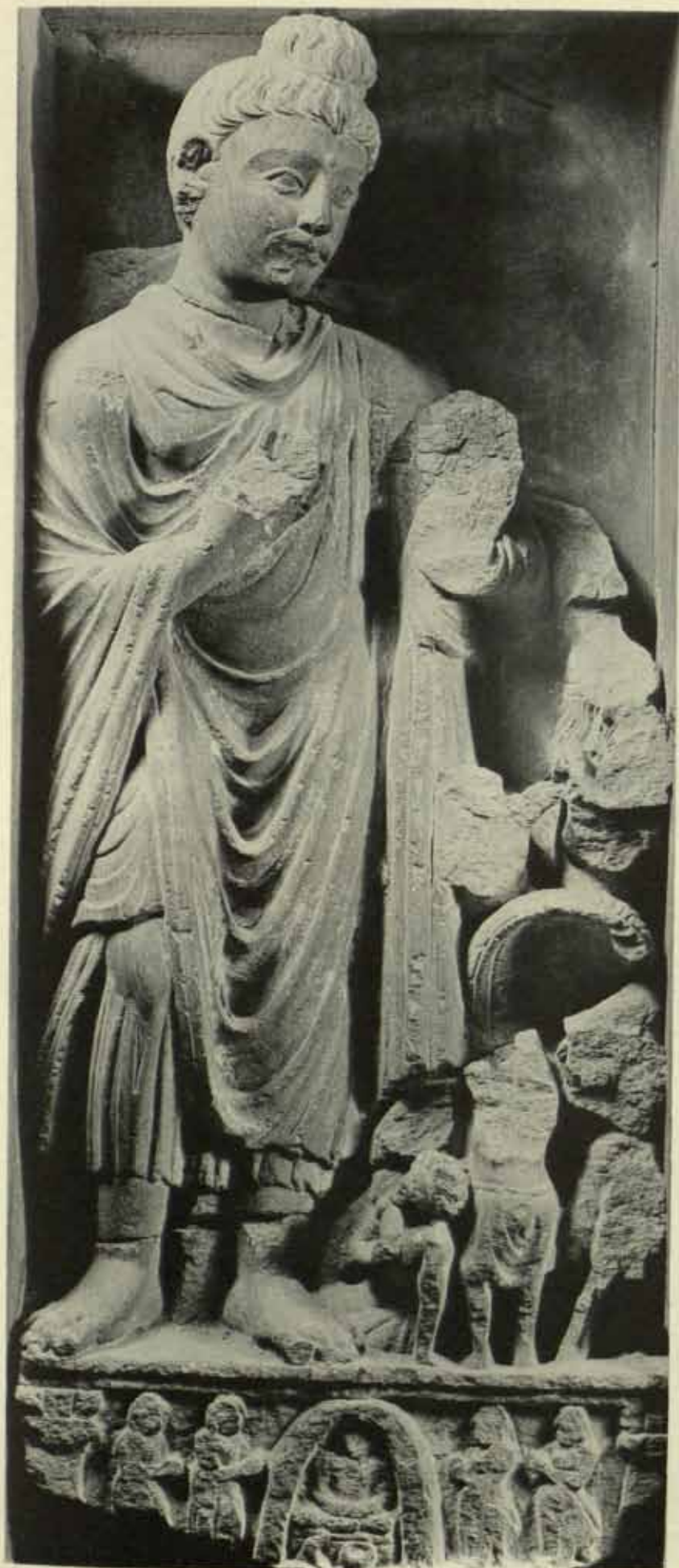
84. Peshawar *The Buddha in the Fire Temple at Uruvilva.* 10"



85. Karachi *The Buddha Presents the Serpent to Kāśyapa.* 12"



86. Peshawar *The Buddha Presents the Serpent to Kāśyapa.* 9½"



87. Peshawar *The Buddha Presents the Serpent to the Kāśyapas.* 21"



88. Peshawar *The Buddha Presents the Serpent to the Kāśyapas.* 20 1/2"



89. Peshawar *The Buddha Presents the Serpent to the Kāśyapas.* 26 3/8"



90. Lahore *The Buddha Enters Rājagriha.* 6"



91. Lahore *The Buddha Enters Rājagriha.* Detail. 6½"



92. Lahore *Victory over the Black Serpent at Rājagriha.* 13¾"



93. Lahore *Yasodharā, Rāhula, and the Buddha.* 9"



94. Peshawar *Nanda Tries to Escape from the Buddha.* 23"



95. Peshawar *Anāthapindada Presents the Jeta's Grove at Srāvastī to the Buddha.* 8"



96. Lahore *The Buddha among His Monks.* Sikri Stupa. 13"



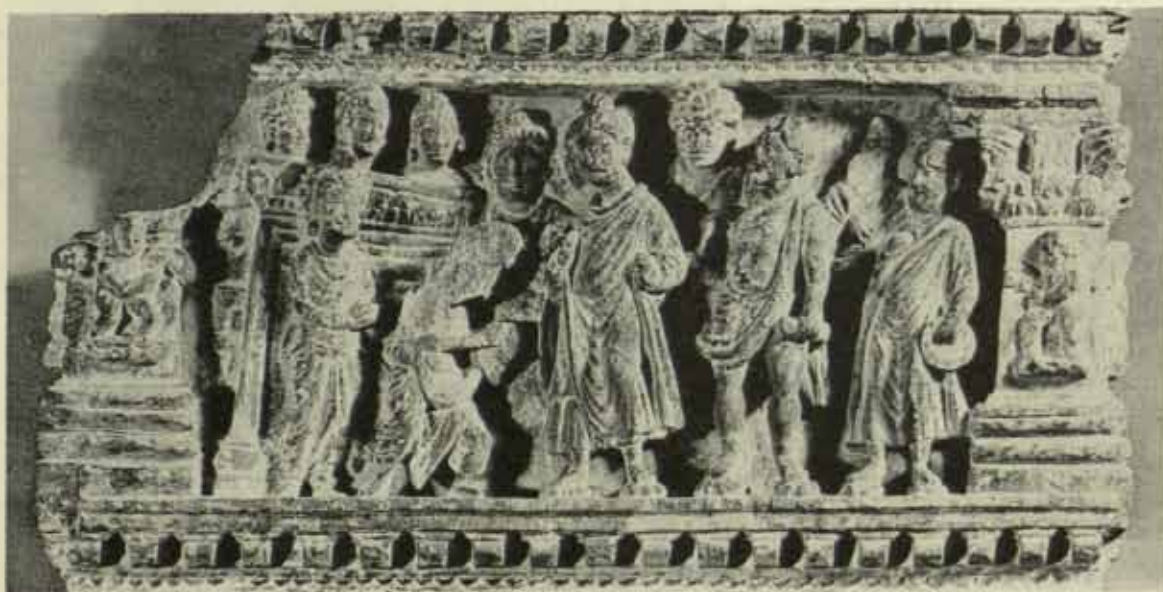
97. Lahore *The Buddha among His Monks.* 6"



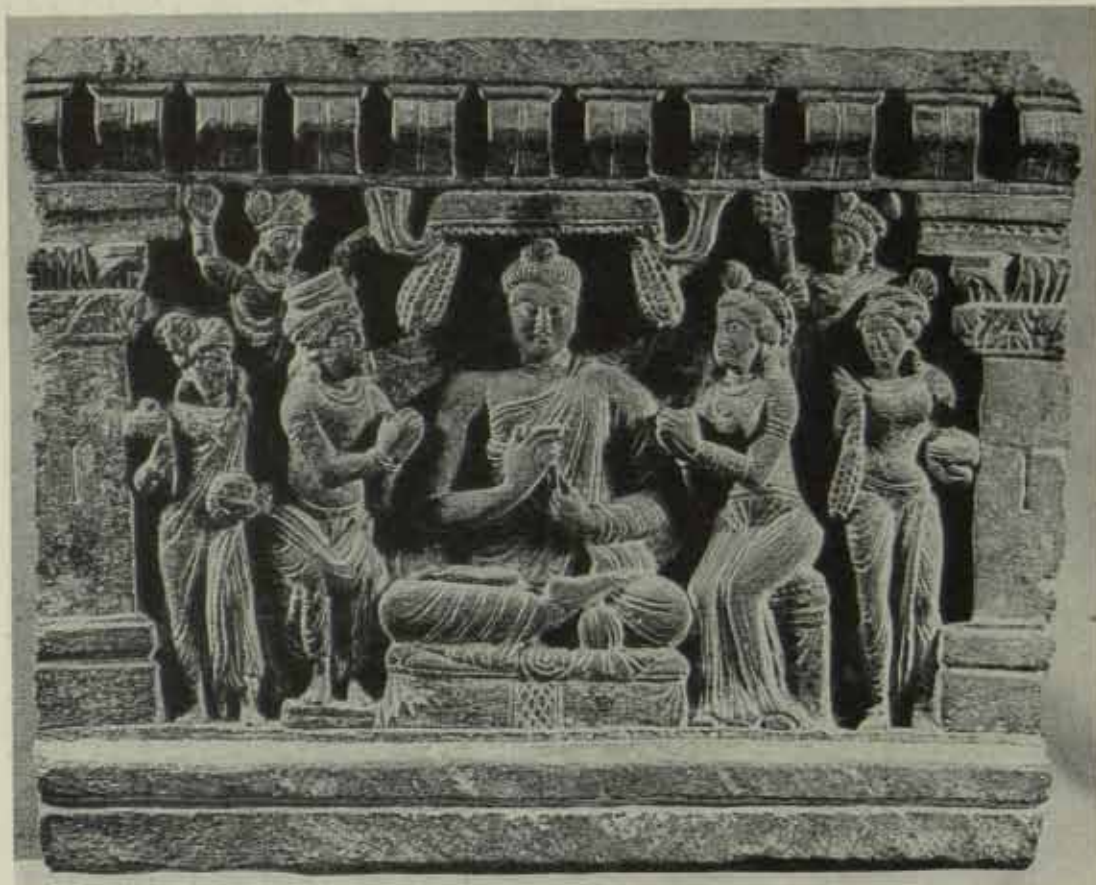
98. Lahore *The Buddha among His Monks.* 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



99. Lahore *The Buddha, Vajrapāṇi, and Worshipers.* 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



100. Lahore *Invitation of Śrīgupta.* Panel B of 162. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



101. Peshawar *The Buddha and Worshippers.* 14 3/4"



102. Peshawar *The Buddha and Worshippers.* 11"



103. Lahore *Ananda Asks a Casteless Girl for Water.* 5 1/4"



104. Lahore *The Buddha Preaches to the Gods in the Trayastrimsa Heaven.* Sikri Sūpa. 13"



105. Lahore *Intervention of Ananda.* Panel C of 162. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



106. Peshawar *Visit of the Sixteen Ascetics.* 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



107. Lahore *Visit of a Group of Ascetics.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



108. Peshawar *Visit of a Group of Ascetics.* 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



109. Taxila *Last Episode in the Miracle of Śrāvastī.* 11"



110. Peshawar *Offering of a Handful of Dust.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



111. Lahore *Offering of a Handful of Dust.* 8"



112. Lahore *Measuring the Buddha*. 6 3/4"



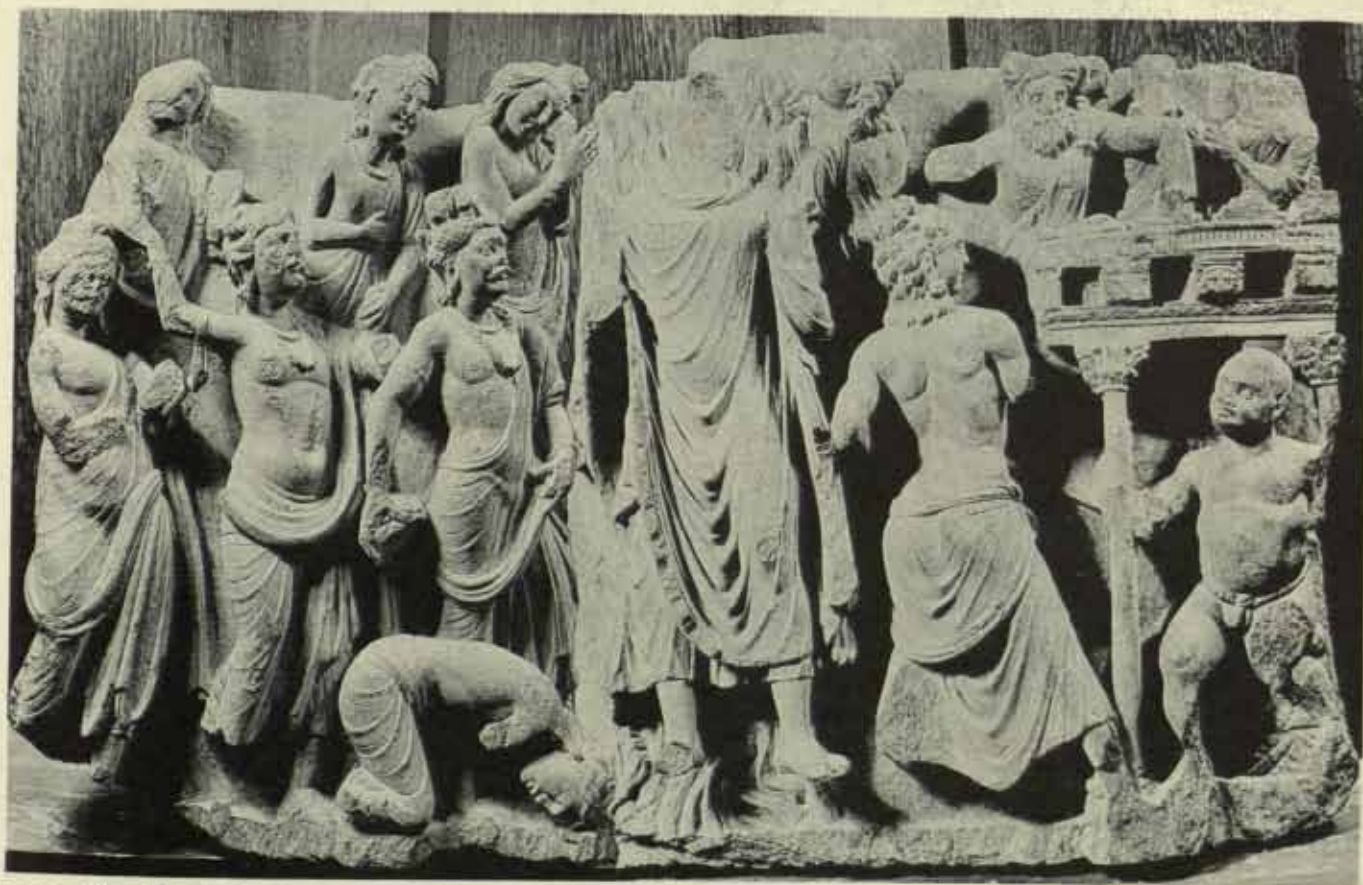
113. Lahore *Devadatta's Hirelings Attack the Buddha*. 10 5/8"



114. Lahore *Unidentified (right). Devadatta's Hirelings Attack the Buddha*. 6 3/4"



115. Lahore *Offering of the Monkey. Sikri Stūpa. 13**



116. Karachi *Sumāgadhi and the Naked Ascetic (right). The Buddha Descending from the Tāvastīmā Heaven. 25 3/4**



117. Peshawar *Conversion of Ugrasena*. 5"



118. Lahore *Conversion of Angulimāla*. 10½"



119. Peshawar *Conversion of Angulimāla*. 16"



120. Peshawar *The White Dog That Barked at the Buddha (right)*. *The Seven Buddhas*. 5¾"



121. Peshawar *The Buddha and the Nursling of the Dead Woman. Bodhisattva and Worshippers.* 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



122. Lahore *Jyotishka Saved from the Pyre.* 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



123. Gai Collection, Peshawar *The Buddha and Monks at the House of Srīgupta.* 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



124. Peshawar *The Buddha Invited by Srīgupta (right). Unidentified.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



125. Peshawar *King Udayana Presents the Buddha Image to the Buddha.* 12"



126. Lahore *Conversion of the Yaksha Ālavika.* Sikri Stūpa. 13"



127. Peshawar *Conversion of the Yaksha Ātavika.* 7"



128. Lahore *Indra and His Harpist Visit the Buddha in the Indrasāla Cave.* 7 3/8"



129. Lahore *Indra and His Harpist Visit the Buddha in the Indrasāla Cave.* Sikri Stūpa. 13"



130. Taxila *The Visit of Indra and His Host to the Indrasāla Cave.* 32 3/4"



131. Peshawar *The Visit of Indra and His Host to the Indrasāla Cave. Mamāne Dherī. Year 89. 30'*



132. Taxila *Indra and Brahma Visit the Buddha in the Indrasāla Cave.* 21¼"



133. Lahore *The Visit of Indra and His Host to the Indrasāla Cave.* 14"



134. Peshawar *The Visit of Indra and His Host to the Indrasāla Cave.* 8¼"



135. Lahore *The Visit of Indra and His Harpist to the Indrasāla Cave.* 13"



136. Lahore *The Courtesan Āmrāpālī Presents the Buddha with a Mango Grove.* Sikri Stūpa. 13"



137. Peshawar *Death of the Buddha.* 10½"



138. Peshawar *Death of the Buddha.* 10½"



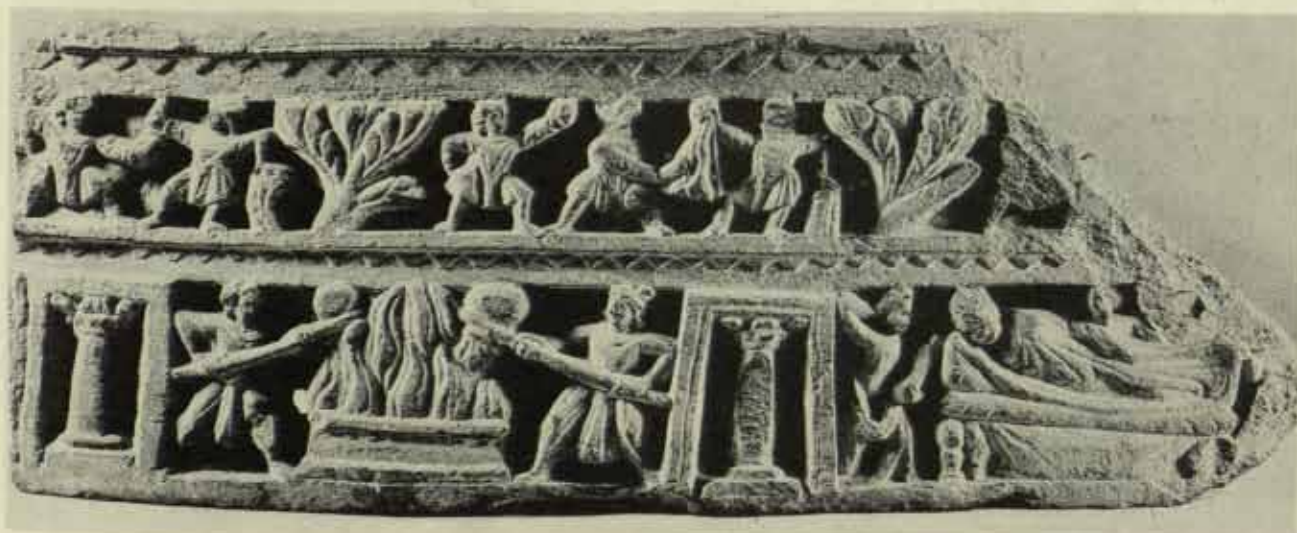
139. Peshawar *Death of the Buddha*. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



140. Peshawar *Death of the Buddha*. 6"



141. Lahore *Death of the Buddha*. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



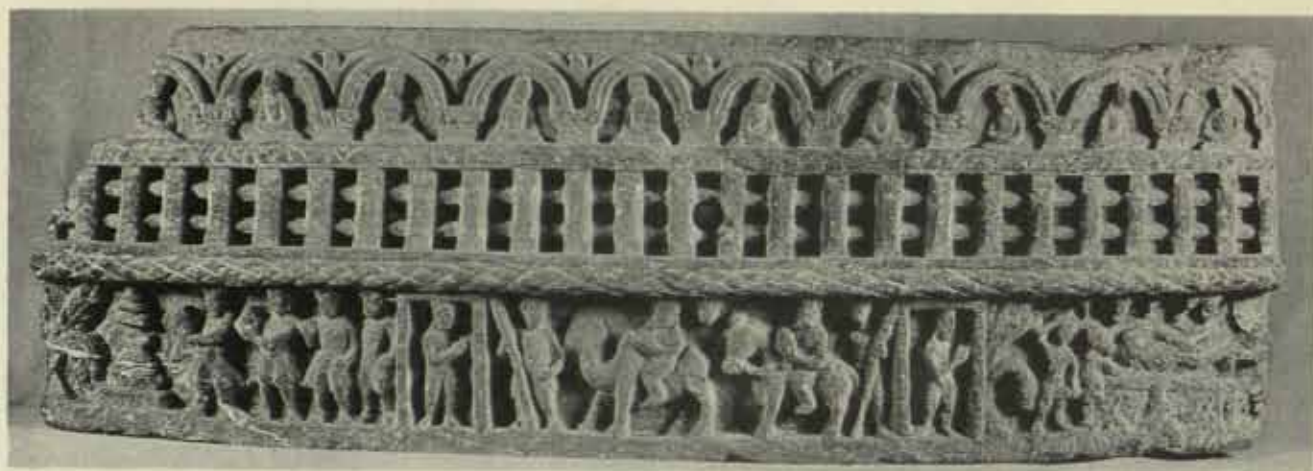
142. Peshawar *Death of the Buddha (right). Cremation of the Buddha*. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



143. Lahore *The Coffin of the Buddha.* 11½"



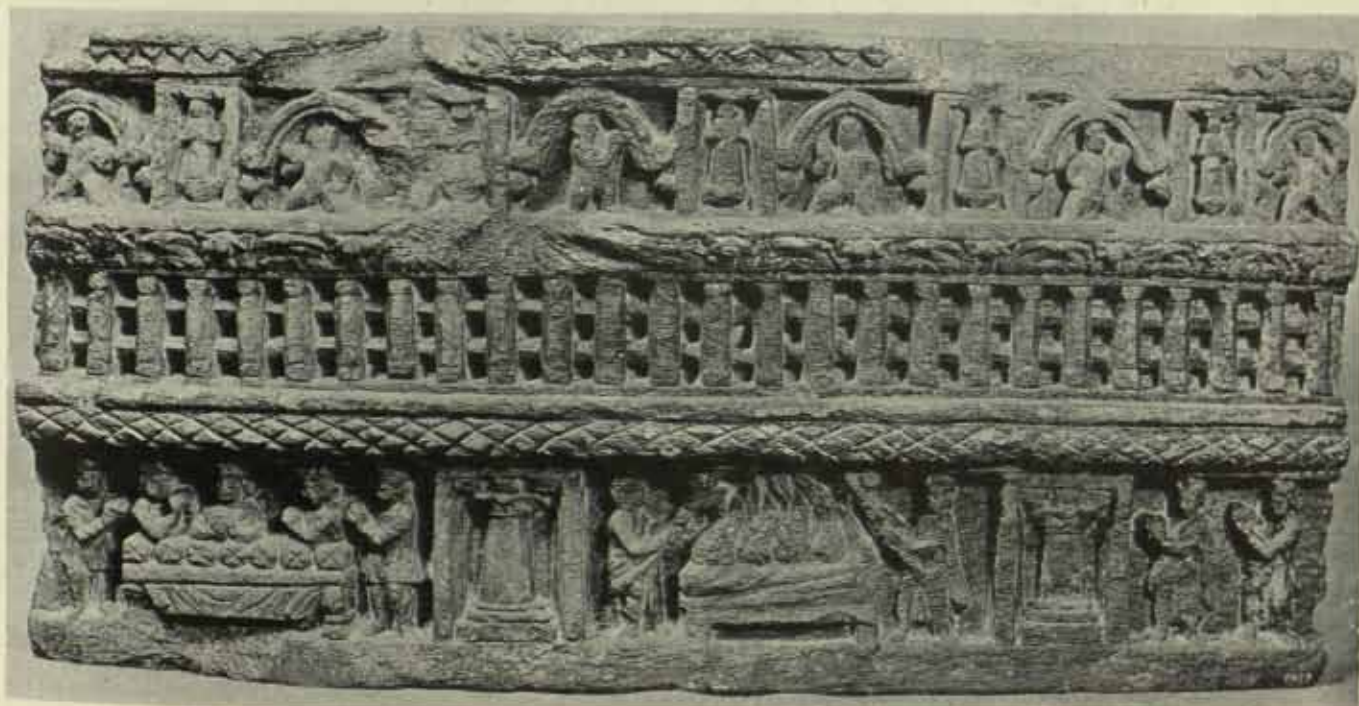
144. Gai Collection, Peshawar *The Coffin of the Buddha.* 18¾"



145. Lahore *Death of the Buddha (right). Transportation of the Relics. Cult of the Stūpa.* 7½"



146. Peshawar *Cremation of the Buddha.* 6"



147. Lahore *Cremation of the Buddha (center). Division of the Relics (left).* 8¾"



148. Lahore *Māyā and Siddhārtha Return to Kapilavastu.* 3¾"



149. Lahore *Transportation of the Relics (right). Cult of the Stūpa.* 8½"



150. Lahore *Transportation of the Relics.* 8¼"



151. Lahore *The Urn Carried into Kusinagara.* 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



152. Peshawar *Distribution of the Relics.* 6"



153. Lahore *Distribution of the Relics.* 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



154. Peshawar *Distribution of the Relics.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



155. Peshawar *Cult of the Stūpa.* 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



156. Lahore *Cult of a Reliquary.* 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ "



157. Lahore *Cult of the Stūpa.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



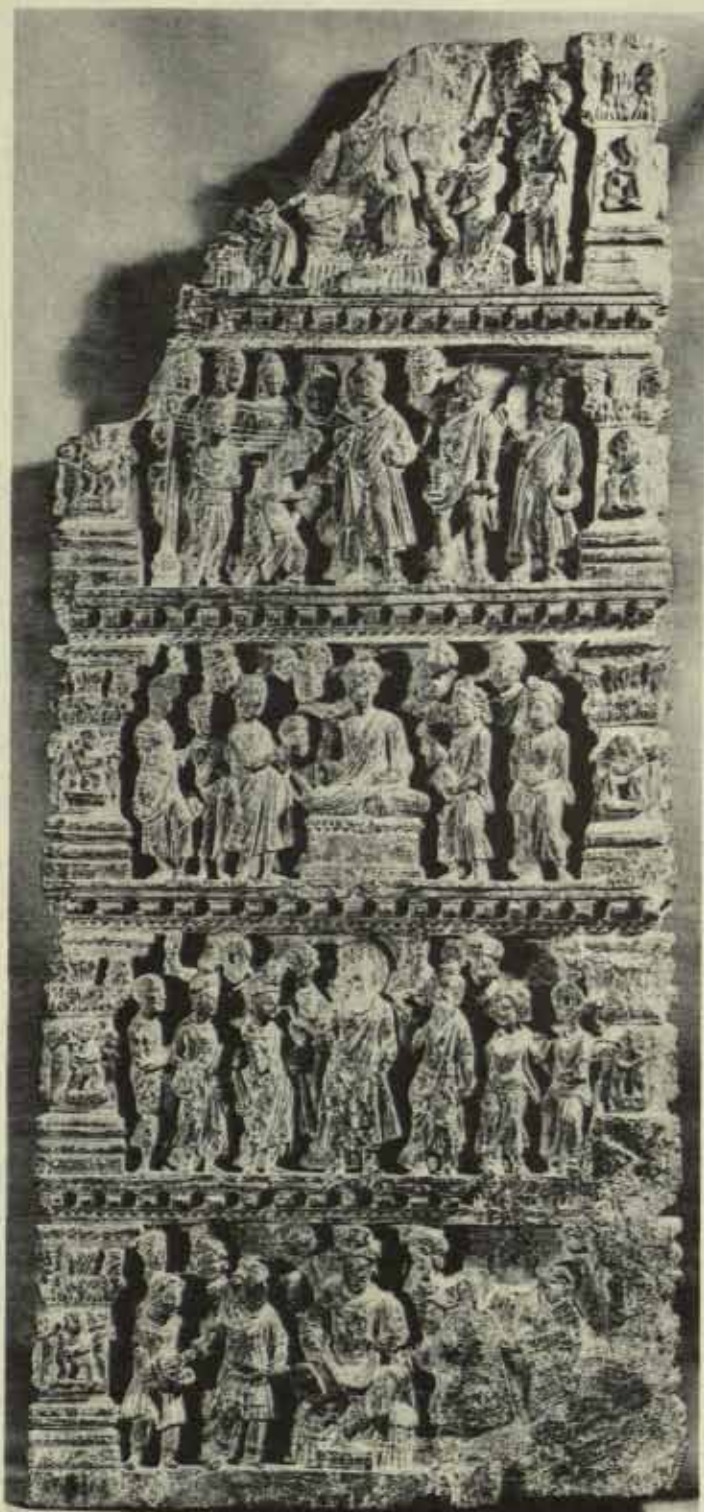
158. Peshawar *Guarding the Urn.* 6"



159, A-C. Lahore Unidentified (A). The Buddha and Donors (B). The Dipankara Buddha (C). 23½"



160, A-B. Lahore The Buddha and Worshippers (A). The Dipankara Buddha (B). 10½"



162, A-E. Lahore Unidentified (A). *Invitation of Śrīgupta* (B). *Intervention of Ānanda* (C). *Mākaṇḍika Offers His Daughter to the Buddha* (D). *The Bodhisattva and Donors* (E). 34"

161, A-F. Lahore *The Buddha and Worshippers* (A and B). *The White Dog and the Buddha* (C). *The Bodhisattva and Worshippers* (D). *Measuring the Buddha* (E). *The Buddha and His Monks* (F). 3'9 1/4"



163, A-D. Lahore *Measuring the Buddha* (A). *Visit of the Nāga Apālāla* (B). *Attack of Māra* (C). *Conquest of the Snake at Ururvilva* (D). 28 3/4"



164, A-C. Peshawar *Offering of the Monkry* (A). *Bull Licking the Feet of the Buddha* (B). *The Buddha and Worshippers* (C). 17"



165, A-C. Peshawar *Unidentified* (A). *The Buddha and Worshippers* (B). *The Buddha and Rāhula* (C). 23 3/2"



166, A-E. Peshawar *Māra's Attack* (A). *The Buddha and His Monks* (B). *Unidentified* (C). *Dēvadatta's Hirelings and the Buddha* (D). *Death of the Buddha* (E). 22 3/6"



167, A-D. Peshawar Unidentified (A). Death of the Buddha (B). Distribution of the Relics (C). Cult of the Stupa (D). 17 3/4"



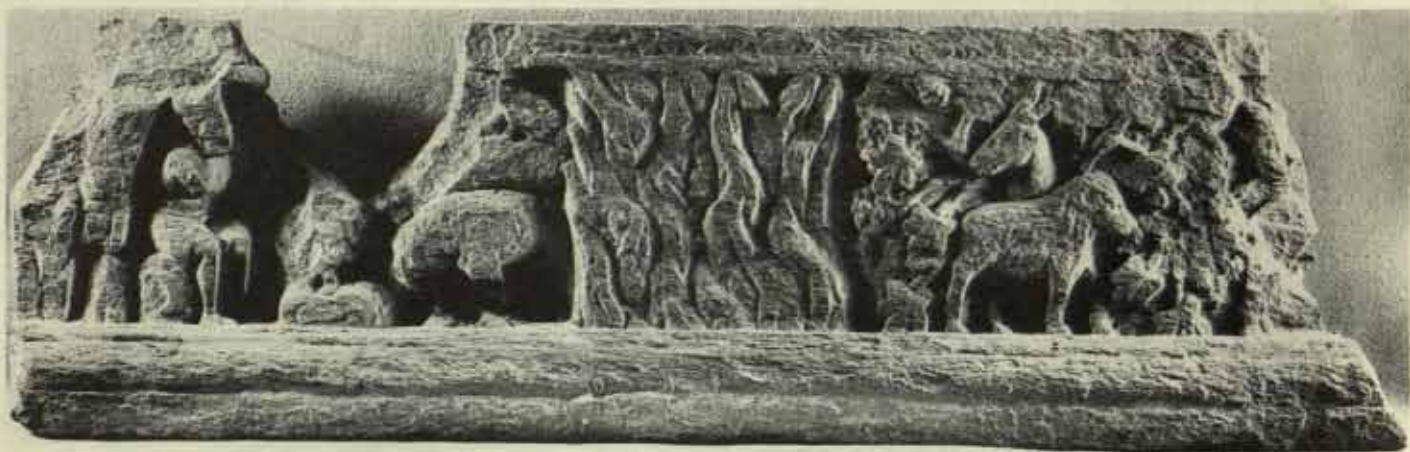
168, A-D. Lahore The Alms Bowl (A). Visit of Indra (B). The Buddha and Worshippers (C). The Great Departure (D). 28 1/2"



169, A-D. Gai Collection, Peshawar The Buddha and Worshippers. 21 5/8"



170. Lahore *Unidentified*. $7\frac{3}{8}$ "



171. Peshawar *Unidentified*. $6\frac{1}{4}$ "



172. Peshawar *Unidentified*. $5\frac{3}{8}$ "



173. Peshawar *Unidentified*. 5"



174. Lahore *Unidentified*. 6 1/4"



175. Peshawar *Unidentified*. 7 1/4"



176. Peshawar *Unidentified*. $5\frac{5}{8}$ "



177. Lahore *Unidentified*. Detail. $6\frac{1}{2}$ "



178. Peshawar *Unidentified*. $8\frac{1}{4}$ "



179. Lahore *Unidentified*. 5¼"



180. Peshawar *Unidentified*. Panel B of 164. 7"



181. Peshawar *Unidentified*. Panel A of 167. 6"



182. Peshawar *Unidentified*. Panel C of 166. 4½"



183. Peshawar *Unidentified*. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



184. Lahore *Unidentified*. Panel A of 159. 8"



185. Taxila *Worshippers*. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



186. Lahore *The Buddha and Donors*. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



187. Lahore *The Buddha and Donor.* 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



188. Peshawar *The Buddha with Donors.* 20 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



189. Karachi *The Buddha with Female Worshippers.* 19 1/4"



190. Lahore *The Buddha, Female Worshippers, and Monks.* 9½"



191. Peshawar *The Buddha with Worshippers and Monks.* 13"



192. Taxila *Vajrapāṇi and Worshippers.*
9 ³/₄"



193. Peshawar *The Buddha with Worshippers.* 6 ³/₈"



194. A-B. Lahore *The Buddha with Worshippers and Monks (A).*
Vajrapāṇi and Worshippers (B). 17 ³/₂"

THE BUDDHA
AND THE
BODHISATTVA
SIDDHĀRTA

THE
HISTORY OF
THE
CITY OF
NEW YORK
FROM
1609 TO
1898



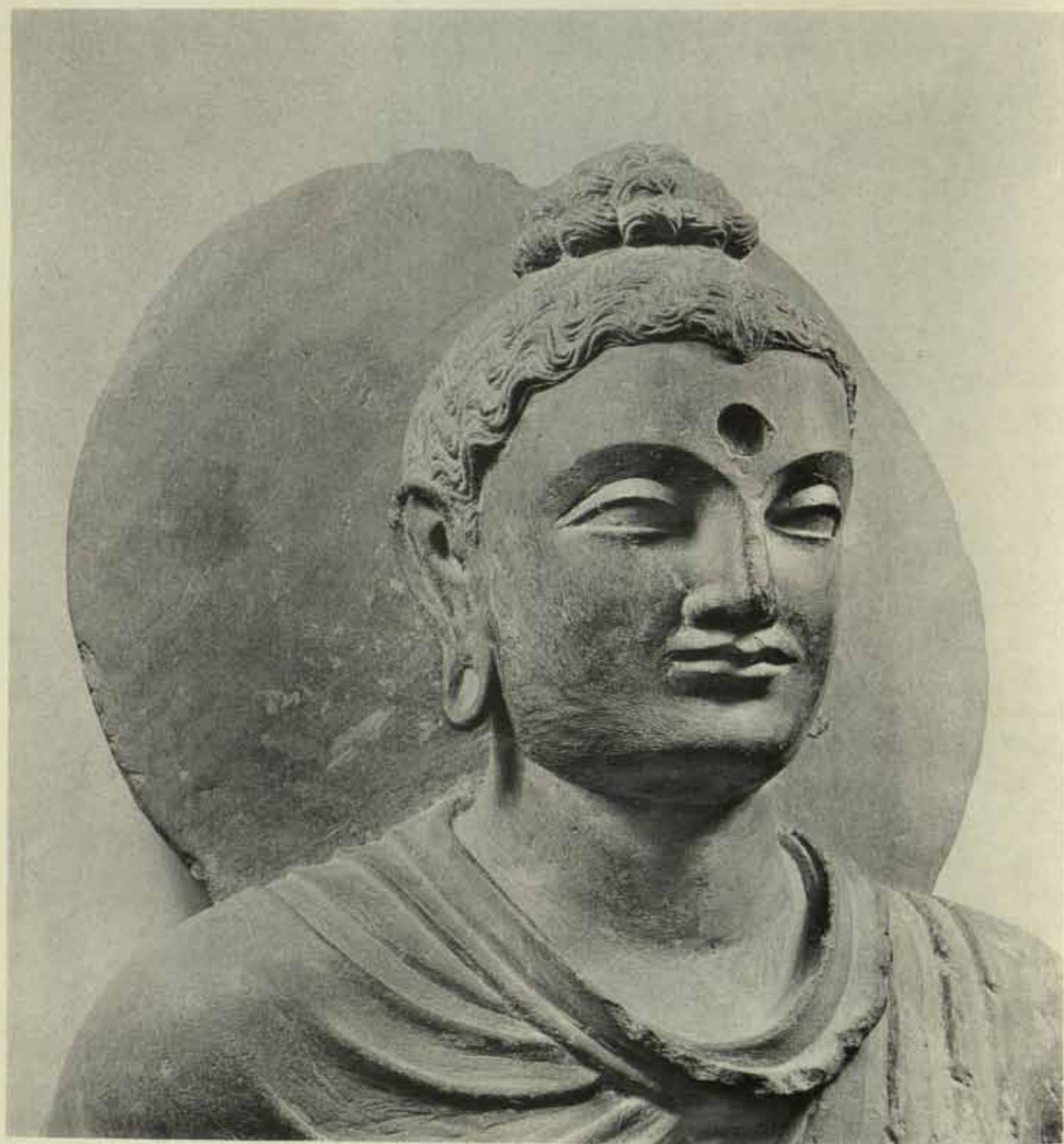
195. Taxila *The Buddha.* 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



196. Gai Collection, Peshawar
The Buddha. 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



197. Lahore *The Buddha.* 3'
3 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



198. Peshawar *Profile of 199.*



199. Peshawar *The Buddha*.
4' 8"



200. Gai Collection, Peshawar
The Buddha. 24"



201. Lahore *The Buddha*.
3' 7"



202. Lahore *The Buddha*. 5' 3"



203. Lahore *The Buddha.* 8½"



204. Peshawar *The Buddha.* 3' 4½"



205. Peshawar *Profile of 204.*



106. Peshawar *The Buddha.* 4' 1½"



207. Peshawar *The Buddha*. 3' 1"



208. Lahore *The Buddha*. 4' 1 3/4"



209. Lahore *The Buddha*. 3' 9"



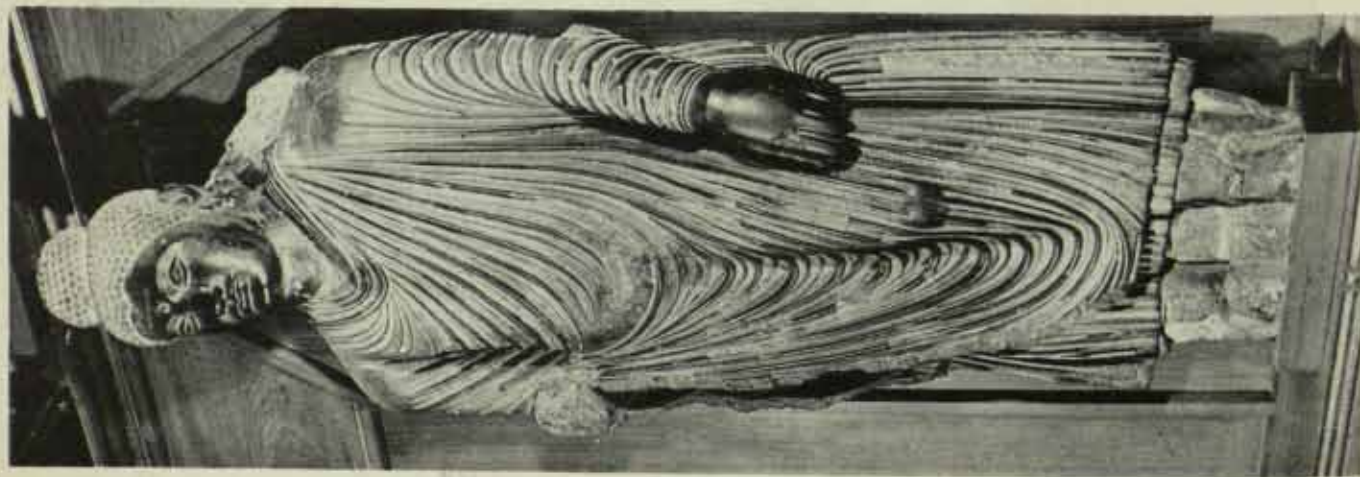
110. Peshawar *The Buddha*. 8' 8"



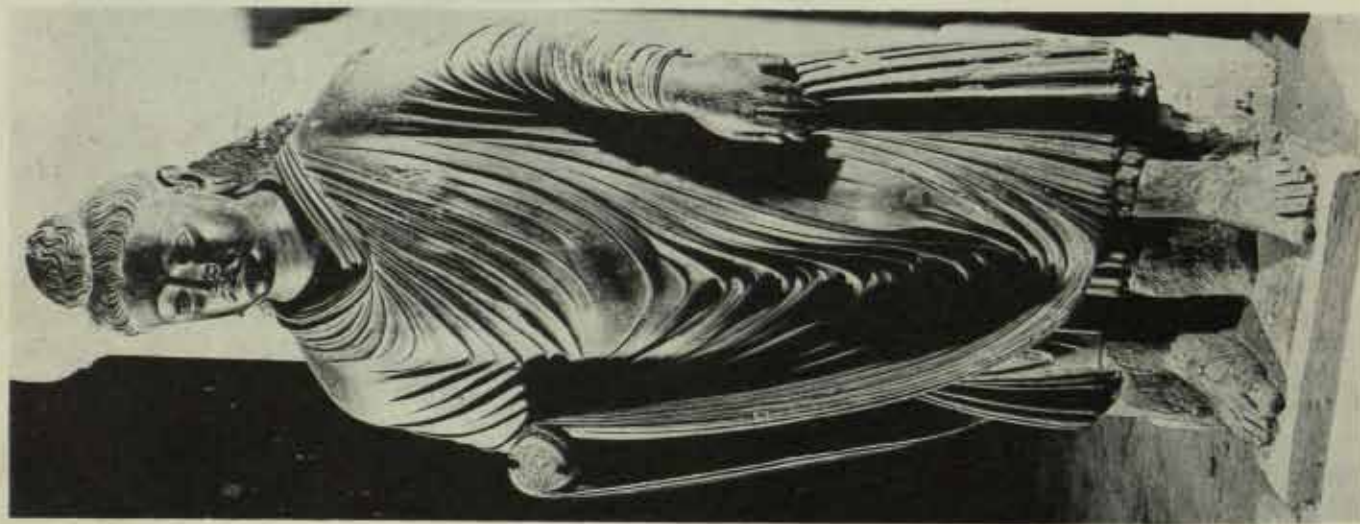
111. Lahore *The Buddha*. 23"



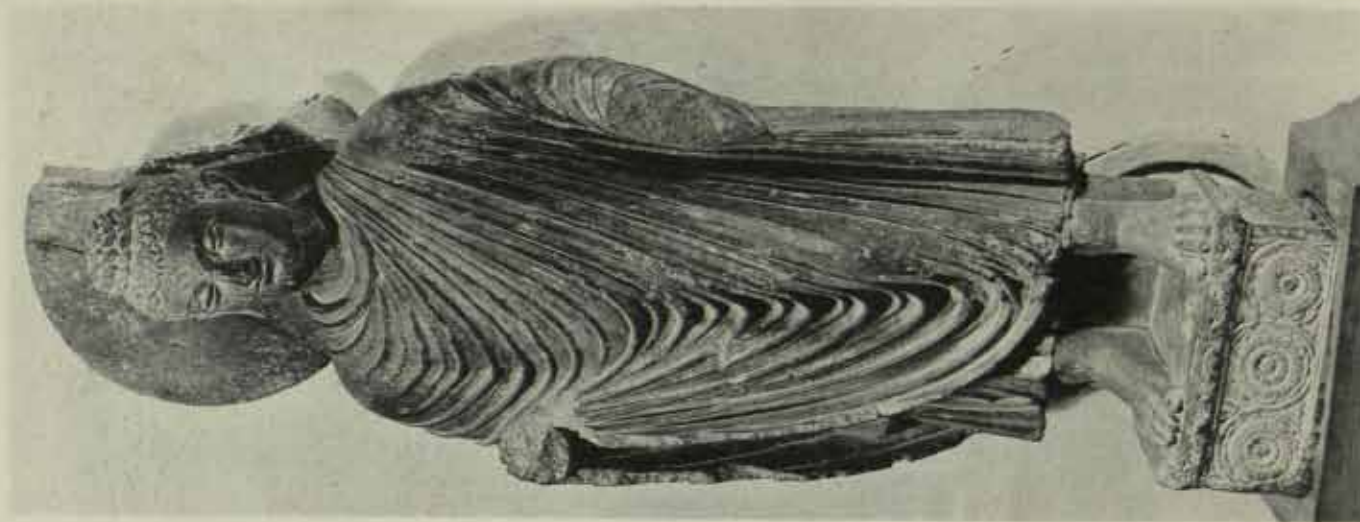
112. Peshawar *The Buddha*. 5' 6"



213. Lahore The Buddha. 7 1/4'



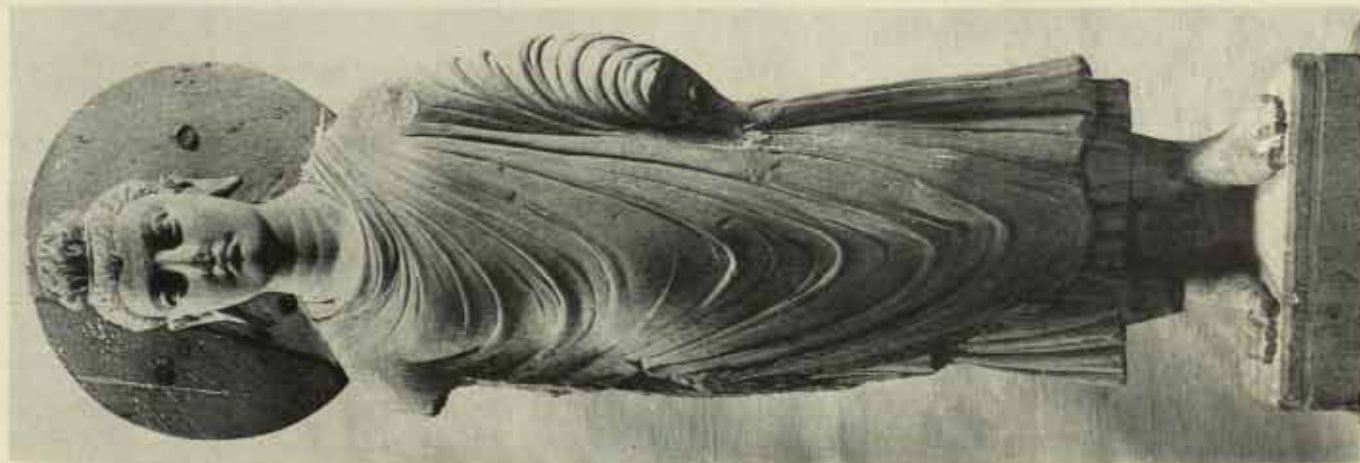
214. Peshawar The Buddha. 7'



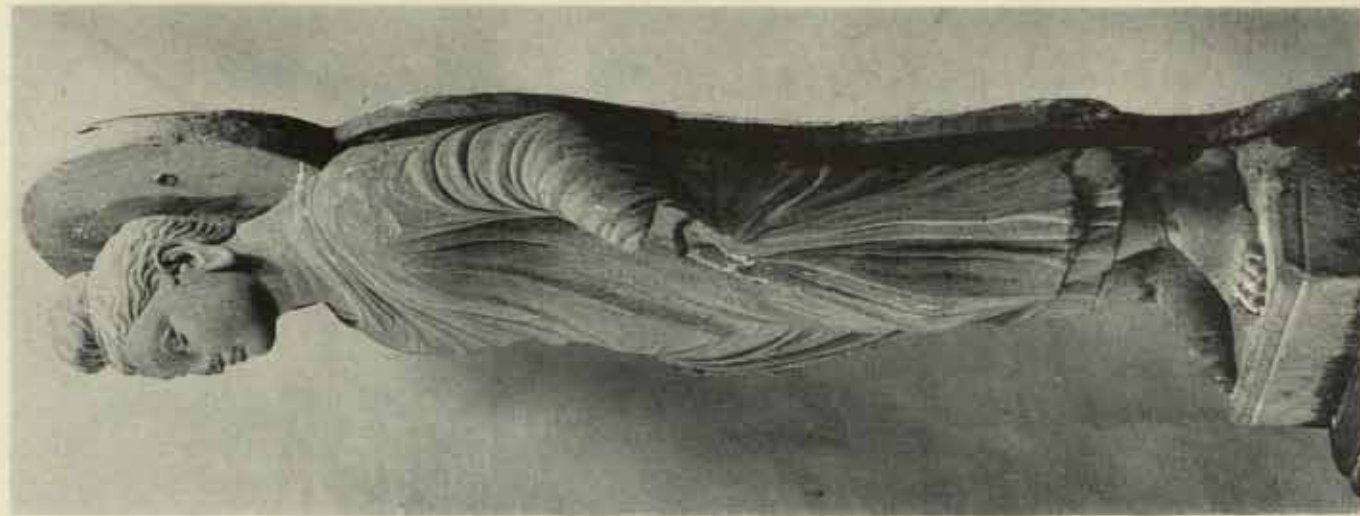
215. Peshawar The Buddha. 3' 9 1/2"



216. Taxila *The Buddha*. 3' 1"



217. Gai Collection, Peshawar
The Buddha. 16"



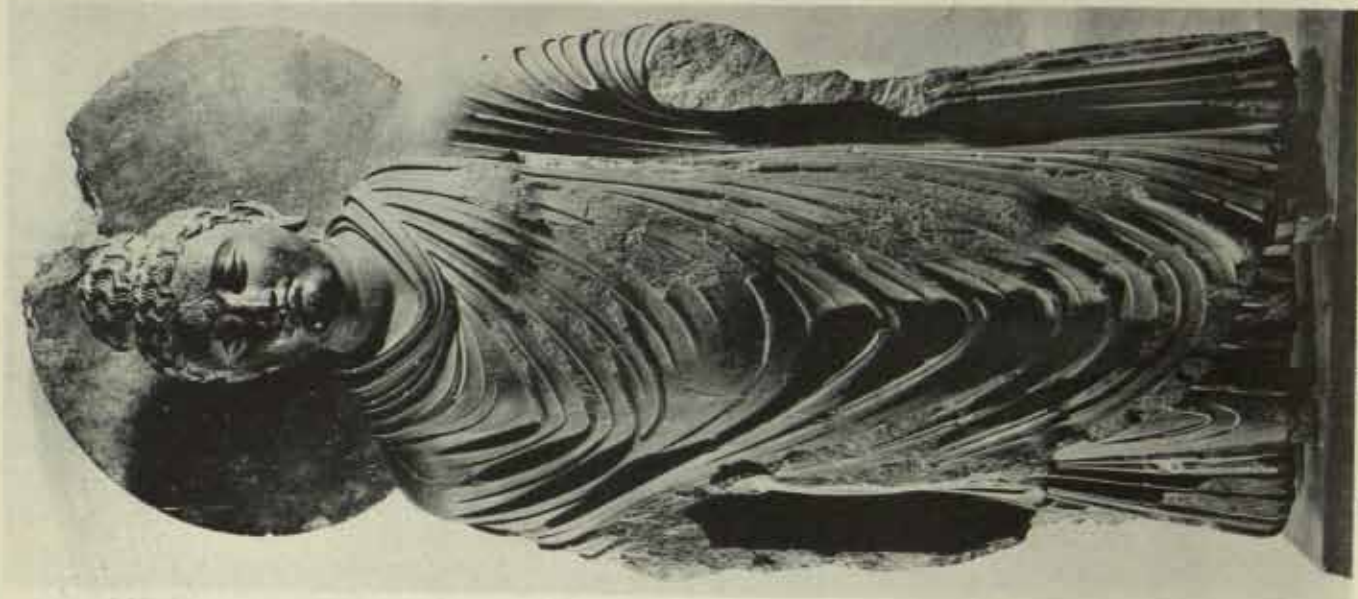
218. Peshawar *Profile of 217*.



219. Peshawar The Buddha. 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



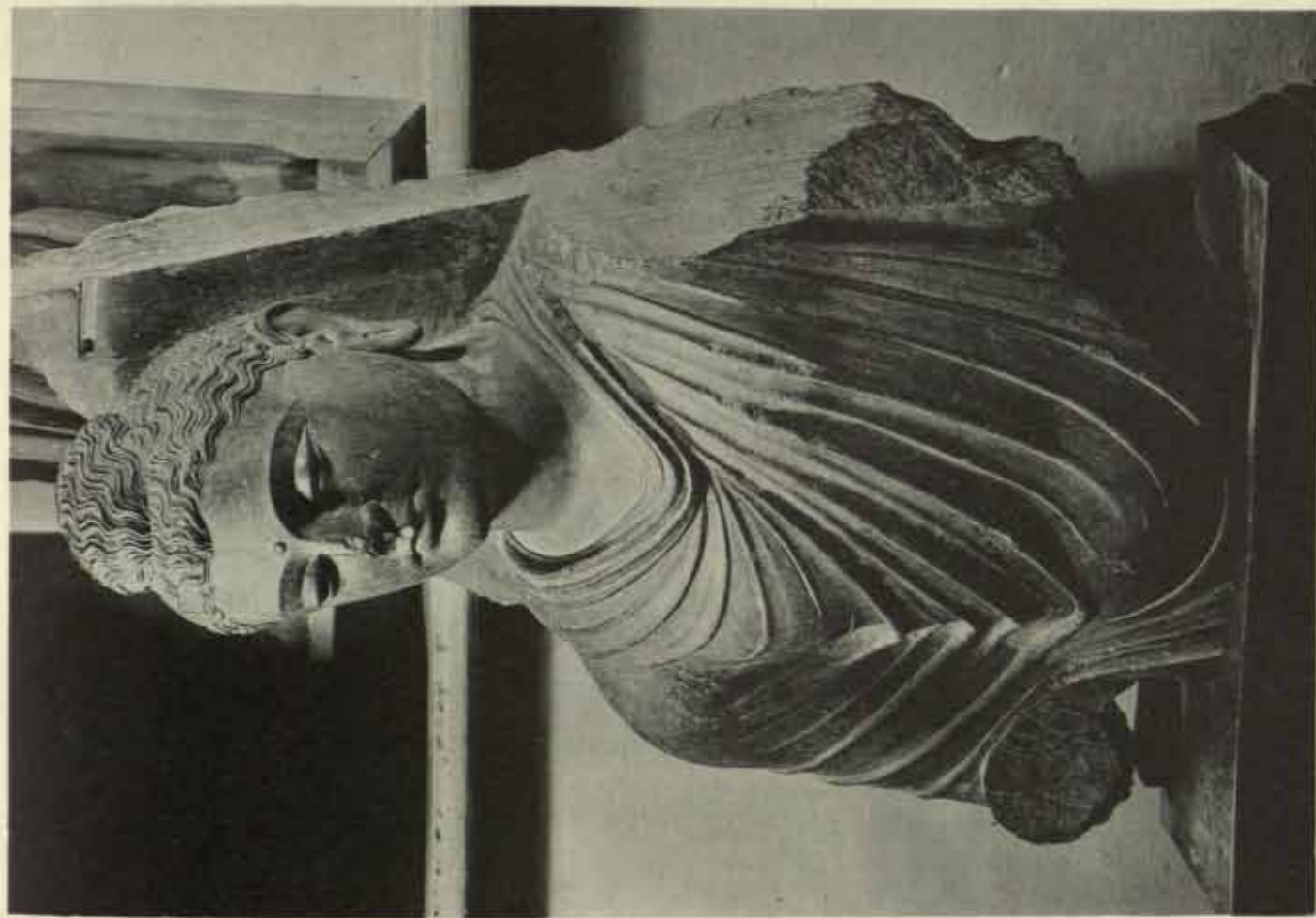
220. Peshawar Left Hand of the Buddha. 21"



221. Peshawar The Buddha. 4' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



222. Peshawar *The Buddha*. 3' 6"



223. Peshawar *The Buddha*. 3' 2 1/2"

x



224. A-B. Lahore *Buddhas with Worshippers (A). Amoris (B).* 19 1/4"



225. Lahore *The Buddha.* 21"



226. Taxila *The Buddha Seated European Style.* 10 3/4"



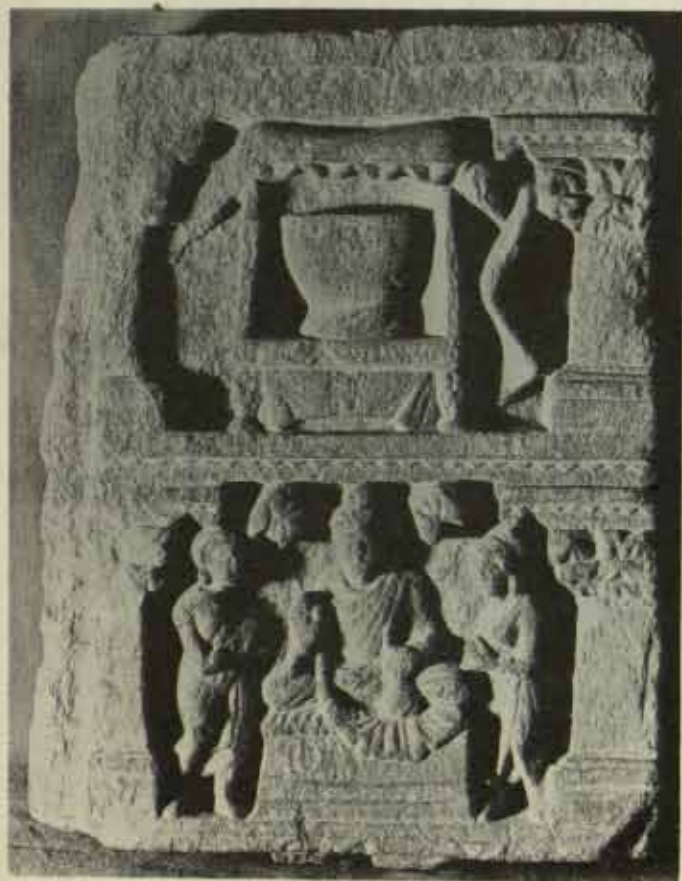
227. Lahore *Three Buddhas Standing, One Seated on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



228. Peshawar *Two Buddhas.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



129. Lahore *The Buddha in the Attitude of Reassurance.* 14"



230. A-B. Lahore *Alms Bowl (A). The Buddha and Worshippers (B).* 13 5/8"



231. Taxila *The Reassuring Buddha Flanked by Two Yakshas.* 3 1/8"



232. Lahore *The Buddha in the Attitude of Meditation.* 16"



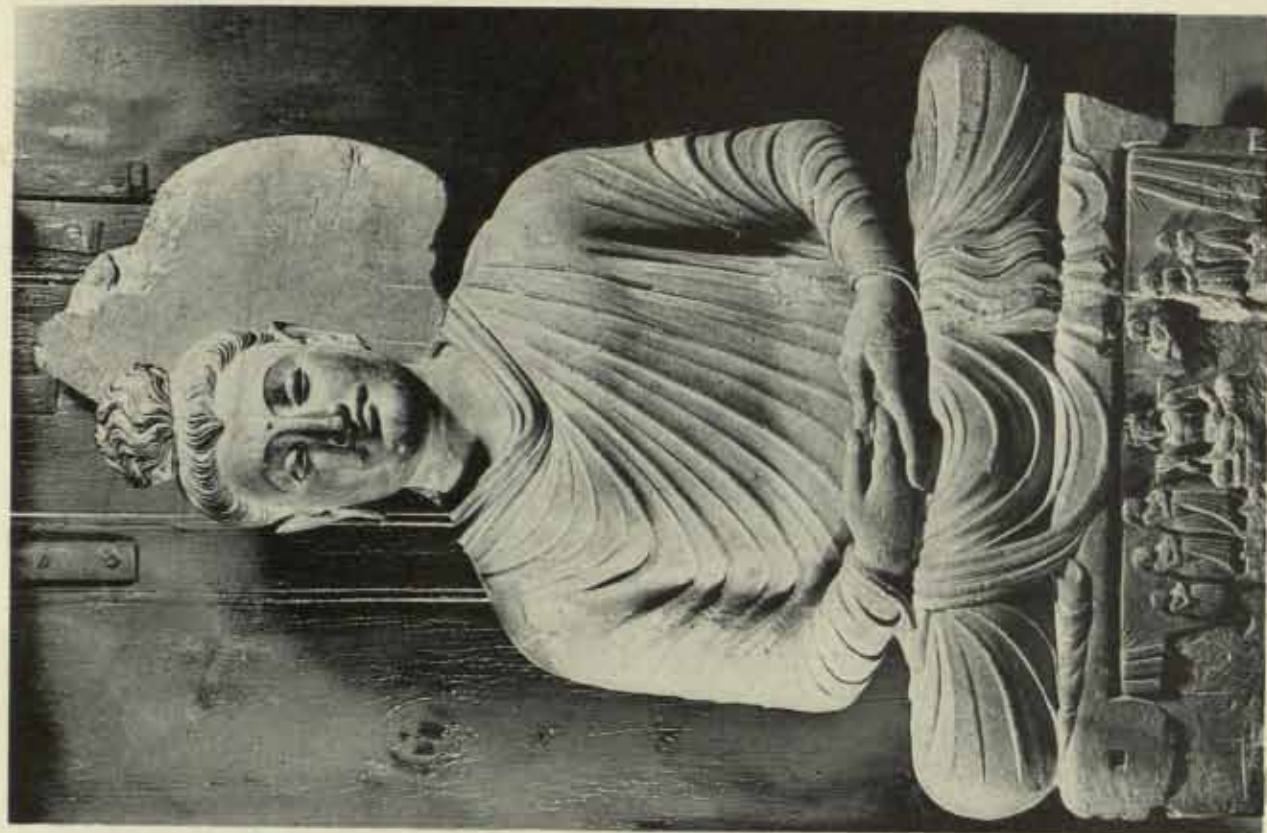
233. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation.* 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



234. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation.* 27"



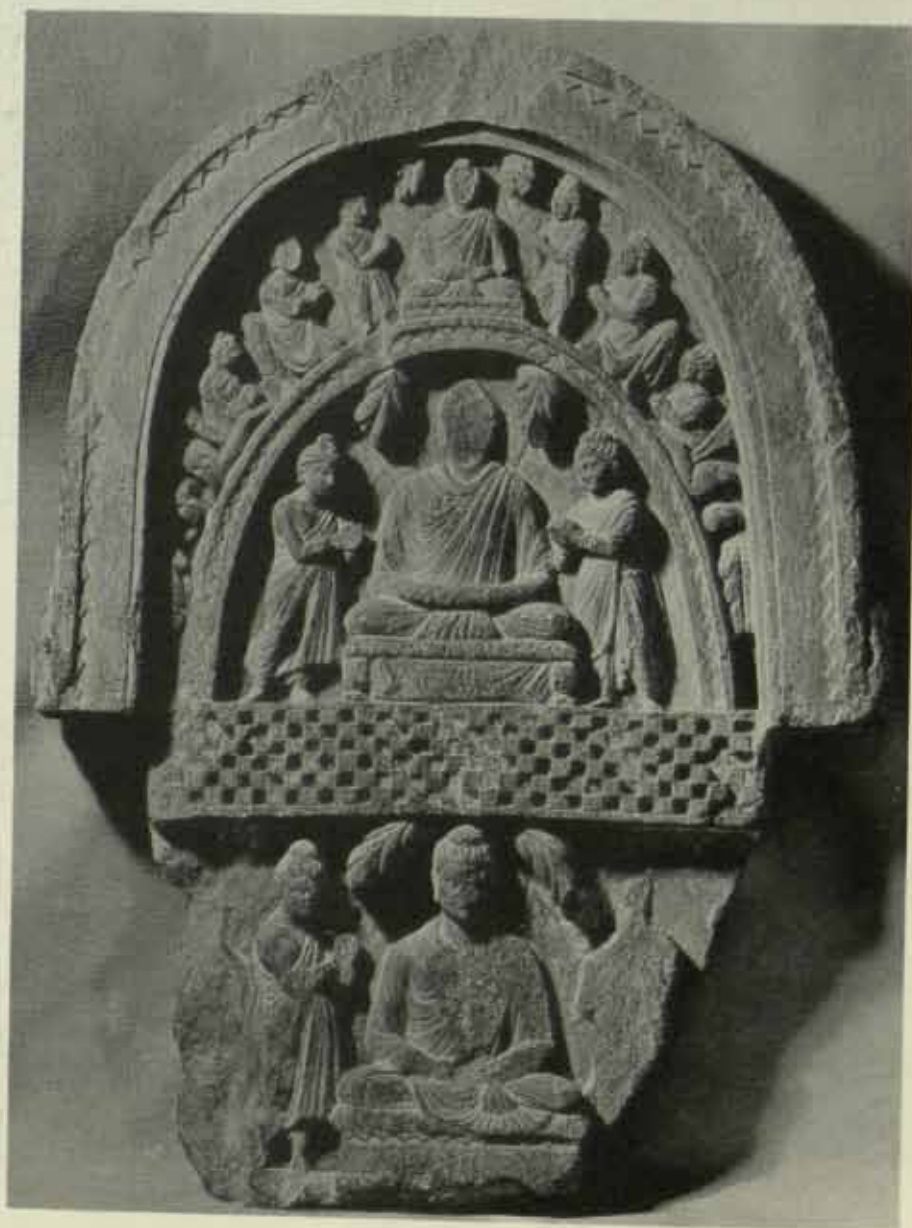
235. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation.* 33"



236. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation.* 35 1/4"



237. Lahore *The Buddha in Meditation and Worshippers.* 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



238. Lahore *Buddhas in Meditation with Worshippers.* 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



239. Lahore *The Buddha in Meditation Flanked by Worshippers.* 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



240. Lahore *The Buddha in Meditation Flanked by Worshippers.* 6"



241. Lahore *The Buddha in Meditation Flanked by Worshippers.* 6"



242. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation.* 4 1/4"



243. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation Flanked by Indra and Brahma.* 6"



244. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 11 1/4"



245. Gai Collection, Peshawar *The Buddha in the Attitude of Preaching.* 28"



246. Gai Collection, Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha.* 25"



247. Lahore *The Preaching Buddha.* 36½"



248. Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha*. 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



249. Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha*. 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



250. Karachi *The Preaching Buddha.* 31"



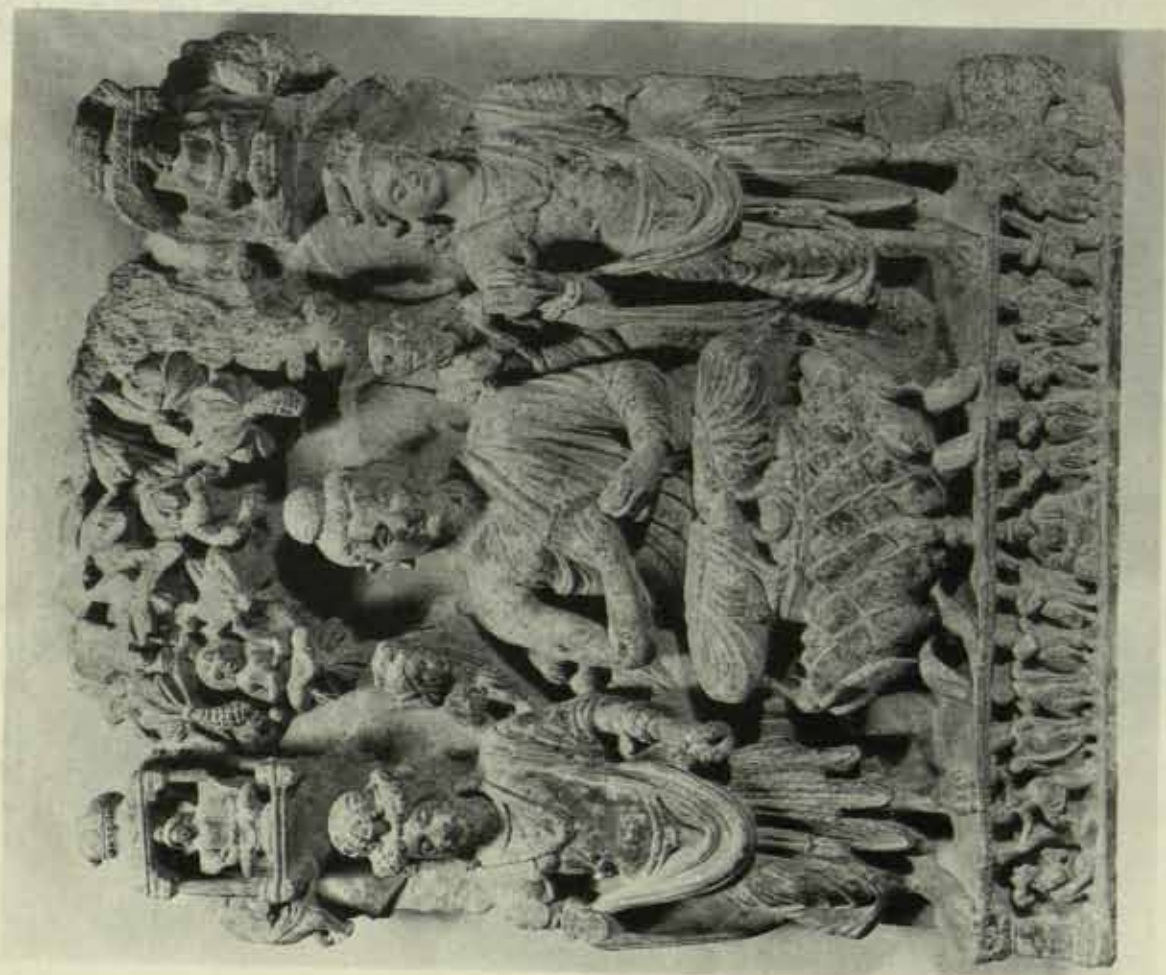
251. Lahore *The Preaching Buddha.* 3' 7 1/2"



252. Lahore *The Preaching Buddha on Lotus Throne.* 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



253. Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha on Lotus Throne.* 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



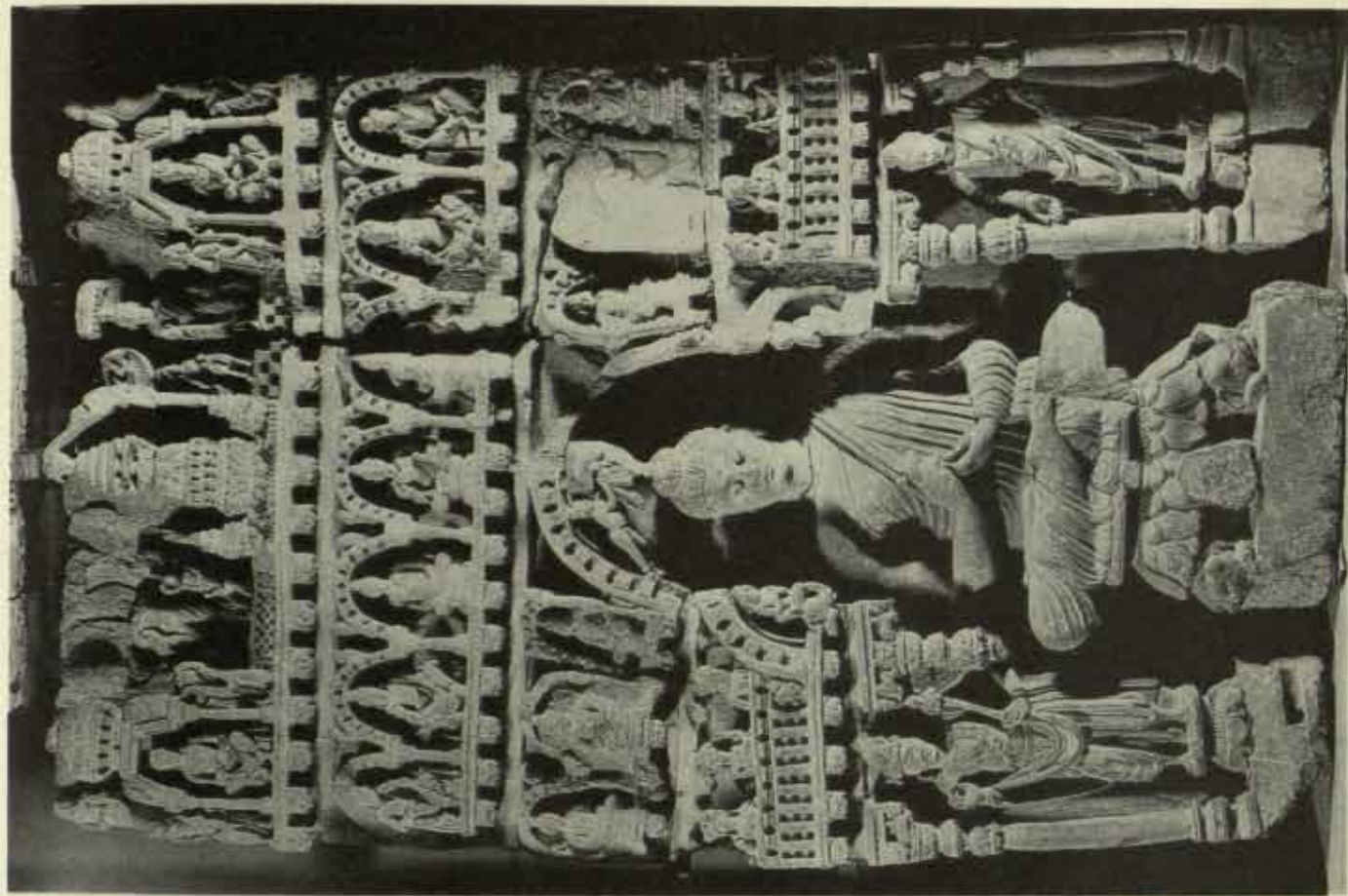
254. Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha on Lotus Throne.* 33 3/4"



255. Lahore *The Preaching Buddha on Lotus Throne.* 3' 10"



256. Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha on Lotus Throne.* 23 5/8"



257. Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 3' 9 1/4"



258. Lahore *The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



259. Gai Collection, Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



260. Taxila *The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



261. Peshawar *The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 18"



262. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation Flanked by Indra and Brahma, Worshippers, and Buddhas in Meditation.* 11 3/4"



263. Takht-i-Bahai Monastery *The Buddha in Meditation on Inverted-Lotus Throne.* 3'11"



264. Lahore *Head of the Buddha.* 6¾"



265. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 5"



266. Lahore *Head of the Buddha.* 10"



267. Lahore *Head of the Buddha.* 6"



268. Peshawar *Head of the Buddha.* 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



269. Peshawar *Profile of 268.*



270. Peshawar *Head of the Buddha.* 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



271. Peshawar *Head of the Buddha.* 18"



272. Peshawar *Head of the Buddha.* 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



273. Lahore *Head of the Buddha.* 16"



274. Lahore *Head of the Buddha.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



275. Karachi *Head of the Buddha.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



276. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Double Bust of the Buddha and of Bodhisattva Siddhārta.* 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



277. Taxila *Bodhisattva Siddhārta.* 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



278. Lahore *Bodhisattva Siddhārta.* 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



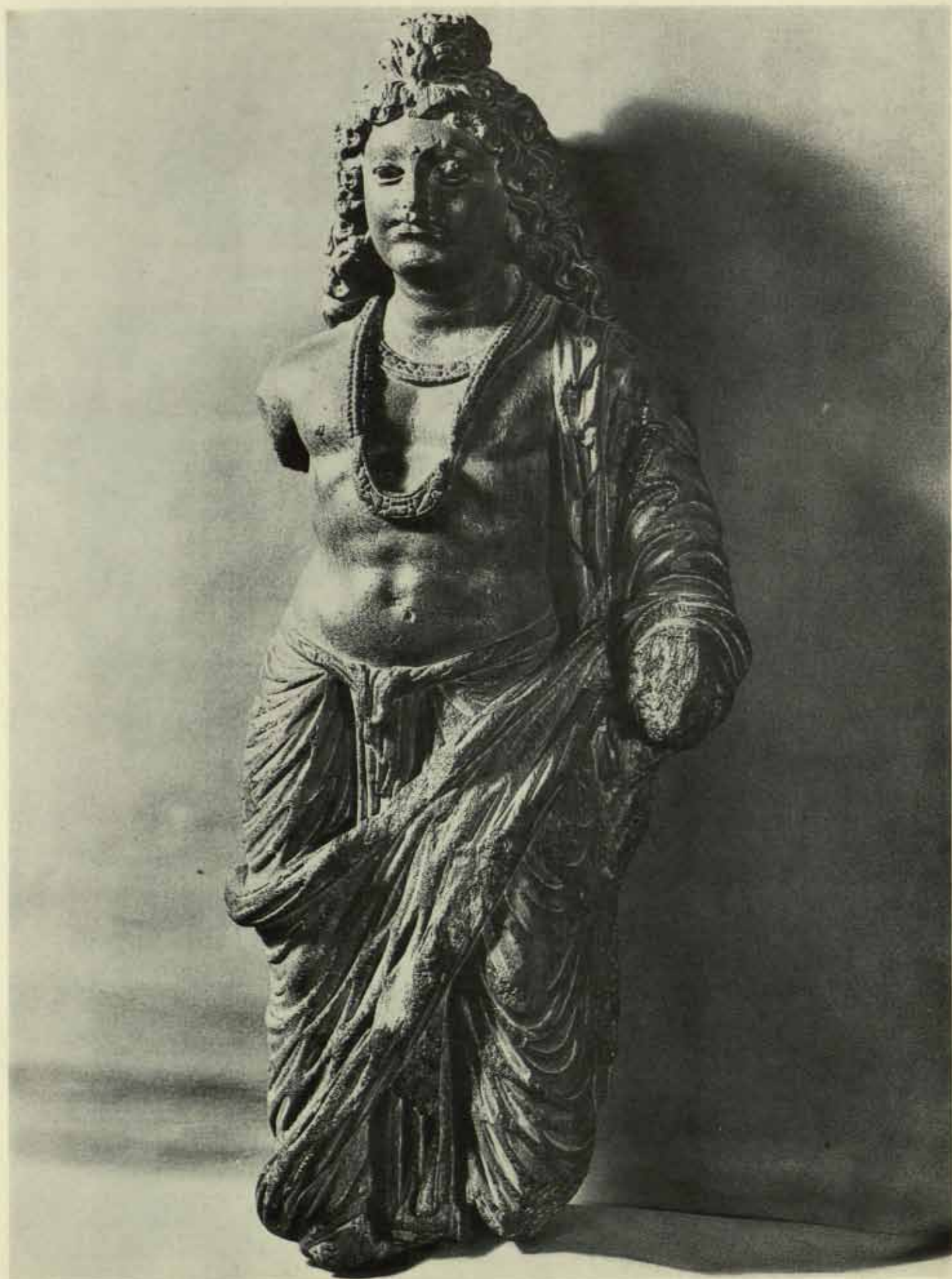
279. Lahore *Bodhisattva Siddhārta*. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



280. Peshawar *Bodhisattva Siddhārta*. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



281. Lahore *Bodhisattva Siddhārta*. 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



282. Lahore Bodhisattva Siddharta. 18'



283. Peshawar *Head of Bodhisattva Siddharta.* 5 $\frac{15}{16}$ "



284. Peshawar *Bodhisattva Siddharta in Meditation.* 27"



285. Lahore *Bodhisattva Siddharta and Worshippers.* 9¾"



286. Peshawar *Head of Bodhisattva Siddharta*. 20 1/2"



287. Lahore *Bodhisattva Siddharta in Meditation, Donors, and Monk*. 13 3/8"

THE WORLD
OF
THE BUDDHA





288. Lahore Bodhisattva
Siddhārtha or Maitreya. 13"



289. Lahore Maitreya. 6' 10"



290 Karachi Maitreya.
3' 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
300-400 AD



291. Lahore *Maitreya*. 4' 4"



292. Karachi *Maitreya*.
3' 4 1/2"



293. Karachi *Profile Bust of 292*.



294. Peshawar *Maitreya*.
4' 10 1/2"



295. Peshawar *Maitreya*. 4' 6"



196. Peshawar *Maitreya*. 3' 7"



197. Lahore *Maitreya*. 24"



198. Lahore *Maitreya*. 24 3/8"



199. Lahore *Reassuring Maitreya*. 16 3/4"



300. Lahore *Seated Maitreya*. 9"



301. Lahore *Seated Maitreya*. 19 1/2"



302. Lahore *Maitreya in Meditation*. 25 3/4"



303. Karachi *Reassuring Maitreya Flanked by Worshippers.* 6¾"



304. Lahore *Reassuring Maitreya Flanked by Worshippers.* 9"



305. Peshawar *Reassuring Maitreya Flanked by Monks.* 11½"



306. Peshawar *Preaching Maitreya*. 34½"



307. Peshawar *Profile Bust of 306*.



308. Peshawar *Preaching Maitreya*. 3' 6½"



309. Lahore *Maitreya*. 13"



310. Peshawar *Maitreya Flanked by Female Worshippers.* 7"



311. Peshawar *Maitreya Bust.* 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



312. Peshawar *Head of Maitreya or of Layman.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



313. Peshawar *Bodhisattva*.
4' 3/4"



314. Lahore *Bodhisattva*.
3' 6 5/8"



315. Peshawar *Bodhisattva*.
4' 8"



316. Lahore *Bodhisattva*. 22"



317. Gai Collection,
Peshawar *Bodhisattva*.
26 3/4"



318. Lahore *Bodhisattva in Meditation*. 28"



319. Lahore *Preaching Bodhisattva*. 21 1/8"



320. Taxila *Bodhisattva*. 4"



321. Lahore *Bodhisattva with Worshippers (left). Monk with Attendants*. 9"



322. Taxila *Bodhisattva or Deity on Inverted-Lotus Throne*. 5 1/8"



323. Taxila *Bodhisattva*
or *Deity*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



324. Lahore *Bodhisattva Bust*. *Padmapāni?* 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



325. Peshawar *Preaching Bodhisattva*. 3' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



326. Peshawar *Avalokitesvara* 3' 2 1/4"



327. Lahore *Bodhisattva*. 3' 1/4"



328. Lahore *Bodhisattva*. 3' 6"



329. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Bodhisattva or Sumati*. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



330. Lahore *Head of Bodhisattva*. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



331. Taxila *Head of Indra*. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



332. Taxila *Head of Indra*. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



333. Peshawar *Vajrapāni*. 20"



334. Taxila *Vajrapāni*. 9¾"



335. Taxila *Vajrapāni*. 13½"



336. Lahore *Vajrapāni*. 6¼"



337. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Vajrapāni and
Worshippers of the Buddha.* 13 3/4"



338. Lahore *Panchika.* 22 3/4"



339. Peshawar *Panchika.* 28"



340. Lahore *Hārītī*. 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



341. Peshawar *Hārītī*. 4'



342. Peshawar *Panchika and Hārītī*. 3' 4"



343. Peshawar *The Tutelary Couple* 10¼"



344. Peshawar *Panchika and Hārītī*. 14"



345. Peshawar *The Tutelary Couple*. 8½"



346. Lahore *The Earth Goddess*. 9½"



347. Karachi *Demeter-Hērīti*. 4⅞"



348. Karachi *Back View of 347*.



349. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Nāga and Four Nāginīs*. 5 3/4"



350. Lahore *Garuda and a Woman Victim*. 4 1/4"



351. Peshawar *Garuda and Five Victims*. 7 1/4"



352. Peshawar *Head of Garuda*. 8"



353. Karachi *Female*
Deity. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



354. Karachi *Back View*
of 353.



355. Karachi *Female*
Deity. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



356. Karachi *Back View*
of 355.



357. Peshawar *Female Deity.* 12"



358. Taxila *Female Deity.* 15"



359. Taxila *Yakshini and Palm Tree*. 7 9/10"



360. Lahore *Yakshini and Palm Tree*. 19 3/4"



361. Peshawar *Yakshini*. 15"



362. Peshawar *Yakshini with Lotus and Parakeet*. 13 5/8"



363. Lahore *Gandharvī*. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



364. Lahore *Yakshinī*. 22"



365. Lahore *Gandharva Plays the Flute*. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



366. Karachi *Four Kinnaras among Lotus Flowers.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



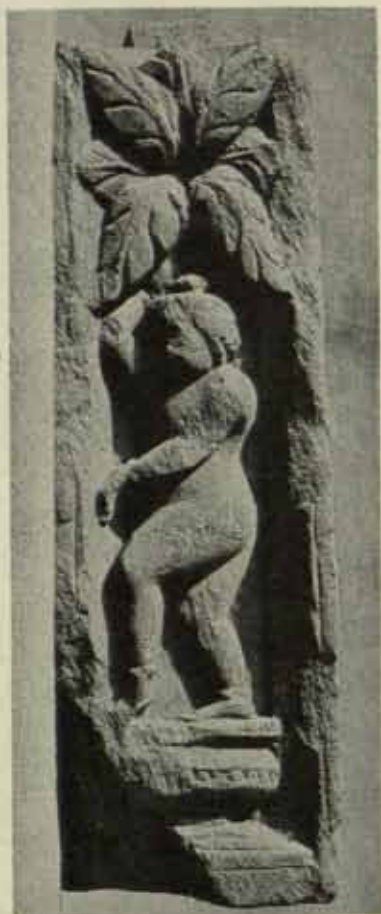
367. Peshawar *Gandharvi with Musical Instrument.* 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



368. Lahore *Two Kinnaras.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



369. Lahore *Amorino and Palm Tree.* 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



370. Taxila *Amorino* and
Palm Tree. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



371. Taxila *Amorino* and
Palm Tree. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



372. Lahore *Two Amorini*. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



373. Lahore *Two Amorini*. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



374. Lahore *Amorini with Garlands.* 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



375. Lahore *Amorini, Garlands, Women with Flowers.* 6"



376. Lahore *Amorini, Garlands, Winged Female Figures.* 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



377. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Amorini, Garlands, Bird, Youths.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



378. Peshawar *Amorini, Garlands, Youths with Flowers.* 12 3/4"



379. Peshawar *Detail of 378.*



380. Karachi *Amorini, Garlands, Birds, Children, Youths, and Winged Female Figure.* 7 1/2"



381. Peshawar *Atlantes*. 8'



382. Peshawar *Atlas*. 9'



383. Lahore *Atlas*. 5¼"



384. Lahore *Atlas*. 6"



385. Peshawar *Atlas*. 21¾"



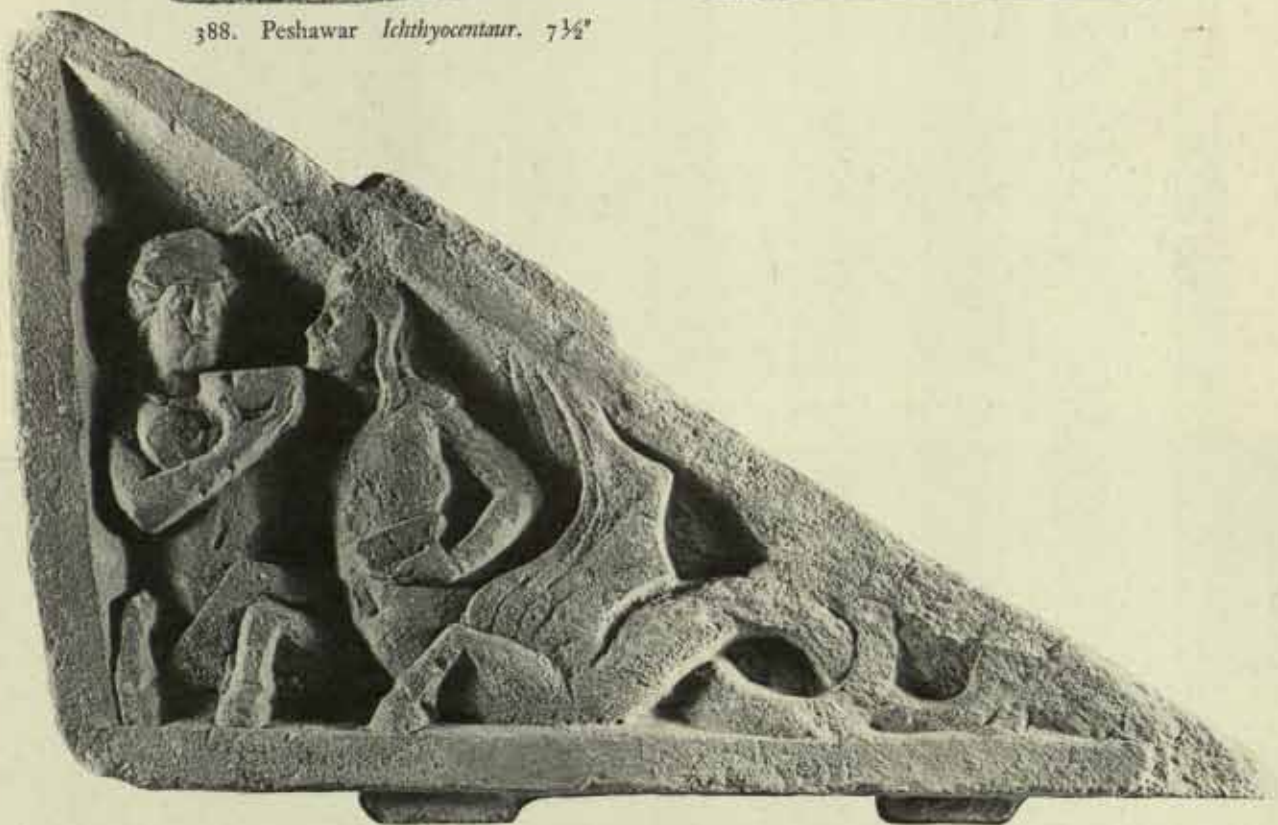
386. Peshawar *Atlas*. 10½"



387. Lahore *Atlas*. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



388. Peshawar *Ichthyocentaur*. 7½"



389. Lahore *Female Hippocamp and Ichthyocentaur*. 8½"



390. Lahore *Tritons and Amorini*. 7"



391. Lahore Centaur. 4' (the torso)



392. Peshawar River God. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ '



393. Lahore *Marine Bull*. 8½"



394. Lahore *Winged Dragon*. 7¾"



395. Peshawar *Tritons*. 8¾"



396. Peshawar *Amorini and Lion*. 7¾"



397. Lahore *Dionysiac Scene*. Width $30\frac{1}{4}$ "



398. Lahore *Drinking Scene*. $9\frac{3}{4}$ "



399. Lahore *Musicians and Dancers*. $6\frac{3}{8}$ "



400. Peshawar *Royal Female Donor.* 5' 3"



401. Peshawar *Female Donor.* 19"



402. Taxila *Kneeling Woman with Bowl.* 7 1/4"



403. Lahore *Worshippers in Princely Costume.* 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



404. Lahore *Men in Princely Costume.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



405. Lahore *Donors in Princely Costume.* 16"



406. Lahore *Donors in Princely Costume.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



407. Karachi *Two Youths Conversing.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



408. Lahore *Worshippers in Princely Costume. Border relief.* 19½"



409. Taxila *Worshippers in Princely Costume. Border relief.* 22¾"



410. Lahore *Worshippers in Princely Costume. Border relief.* 16"



411. Peshawar *Donors*. *Stair-Riser Relief*. 5 3/4"



412. Karachi *Donors*. *Stair-Riser Relief*. 6 3/8"



413. Peshawar *Donors*. *Stair-Riser Relief*. 6 3/4"



414. Peshawar *Donors*. *Stair-Riser Relief*. 6 3/8"



415. Peshawar *Donor with Bowl.* 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



416. Lahore. *Female Donor.* 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



417. Peshawar *Donor in Iranian Costume* 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



418. Peshawar *Monk and Donors in Iranian Costume.* 5"



419. Taxila *Worshippers in Iranian Costume, Border relief.* 26 1/2"



420. Peshawar *Worshippers in Unusual Costumes.* 7 3/4"



421. Peshawar *Man in Iranian Costume.* 16 3/4"



422. Taxila *Dowager and Man with Bowl.* 15"



423. Peshawar *Head of Monk.* 11½"



424. Peshawar *Donor with Two Bowls.* 18½"



425. Peshawar *Three Monks.* 8¼"



426. Peshawar *Three Female Worshippers with Unusual Headdress.* 12"



427. Lahore *Three Acrobats*. 13½"



428. Taxila *Brahman Novice and Brahman*. 6⅝"



429. Lahore *Brahman Novice*. 14½"



430. Taxila *Five Ascetics*. 13¼"



431. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Brahman Novice and Three Brahmins.* 10"



432. Taxila *Hermit inside His Hut.* 8 1/8"



433. Lahore *Hermit in Front of Fire Temple.* 4 3/4"



434. Peshawar *Head of Ascetic*. 2½"



435. Lahore *Young Ascetic*. 12"



436. Peshawar *Head of Ascetic*. 2½"



437. Lahore *Ascetic*. 10¾"



438. Peshawar *Ascetic*. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



439. Peshawar *Genius of Riches*. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



440. Taxila *Boy with Bird*. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



441. Taxila *Female Donor*. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ "



442. Lahore *Naniya*. 7"



443. Lahore *Athena or Roma.* 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



444. Peshawar *Warrior with Spear*. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



445. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Wrestlers*. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



446. Peshawar *Two Male Busts*. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



447. Taxila *Head of Brahman Ascetic*. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



448. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Torso of Man, Head of Woman*. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ " (head)



449. Lahore *Bust of Youth*. 3"



450. Peshawar *Mounted Elephant Plucking Lotus.* 18"



451. Lahore *Elephant Plucking Lotus.* 11 3/4"



452. Lahore *Elephant Plucking Lotus.* 5 1/8"



453. Peshawar *Lion Fed by Yaksha*. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



454. Lahore *Lion*. 14"



455. Lahore *Lion*. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



456. Peshawar *Lion*. 12"



457. Lahore. *Lion Throne*. $8\frac{1}{2}$ "



458. Karachi *Lion Teased by Amorino*. $8\frac{1}{2}$ "



459. Karachi *Hand with Lotus*. $6\frac{3}{4}$ "



460. Lahore *Peacock*. Width $9\frac{3}{8}$ "



461. Peshawar *Rinceau of Vine Leaves with Animals.* 7"



462. Lahore *Lotus Flowers.* 5"



463. Peshawar *Leaves of Pipal, the Sacred Fig Tree.* 8½"



464. Lahore City Wall. 7"



465. Gai Collection, Peshawar Hut with Balustrade in Front. 10 1/4"



466. Peshawar Balustrade with Balconies. 6 1/2"



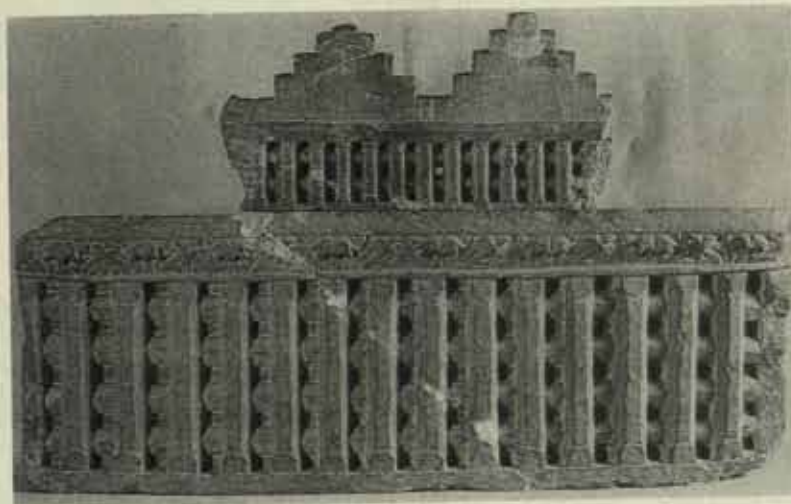
467. Peshawar Five Balconies Flanked by Amorini. 3 5/8"



468. Lahore *Dome of Vihāra, Buddhist Monastery.*
11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



469. Peshawar *Vihāra with Worshippers.* 11"



470. Lahore *Balustrades.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 5"



471. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Dome of Vihāra.* 7"



472. Peshawar Stupa. 10 1/2"



474. Taxila False Bracket with Head of Princely Figure. 8 1/10"



473. Taxila False Bracket with Bust of Woman. 6 1/2"



475. Taxila False Bracket with Winged Male Figure. 6 3/4"



476. Peshawar *Indo-Corinthian Capital*. $4\frac{1}{2}$ "



477. Lahore *Fire Altar Flanked by Worshippers*. $10\frac{1}{8}$ "



478. Lahore *Fire Altar Flanked by Worshippers*. $8\frac{1}{4}$ "



479. Karachi *Apollo and Daphne*. Sirkap Tray.
Diam. $4\frac{3}{4}$ "



480. Karachi *The Dioscuri*. Sirkap Tray. Diam. $4\frac{1}{2}$ "



481. Karachi *Man and Two Women Dancing*. Sirkap Tray.
Diam. $5\frac{3}{4}$ "



482. Peshawar *Erotic Scene*. Sirkap Tray. Diam. 4"



483. Karachi *Amorous Couple*. Sirkap Tray.
Diam. $4\frac{3}{16}$ "



484. Karachi *Woman Riding on Sea Monster.*
Sirkap Tray. Diam. $3\frac{1}{8}$ "



485. Karachi *Couple with Wine Cups.* *Sirkap Tray.* Diam.
 $6\frac{3}{8}$ "



486. Peshawar *Drinking Scene.* *Sirkap Tray.* Diam. $5\frac{11}{16}$ "



487. Peshawar *Drinking Scene. Girl with Garland. Sirkap Tray.* Diam. 5"



488. Karachi *Drinking Scene. Girl with Garland. Sirkap Tray.* Diam. 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ "

OBJECTS
OF
BRONZE, COPPER, GOLD
TERRA COTTA, STUCCO

OFFICE

OF

BRIDGE AND HIGHWAY

CONSTRUCTION



489. Karachi Inkpot. Copper. Diam. $5\frac{1}{4}$ "



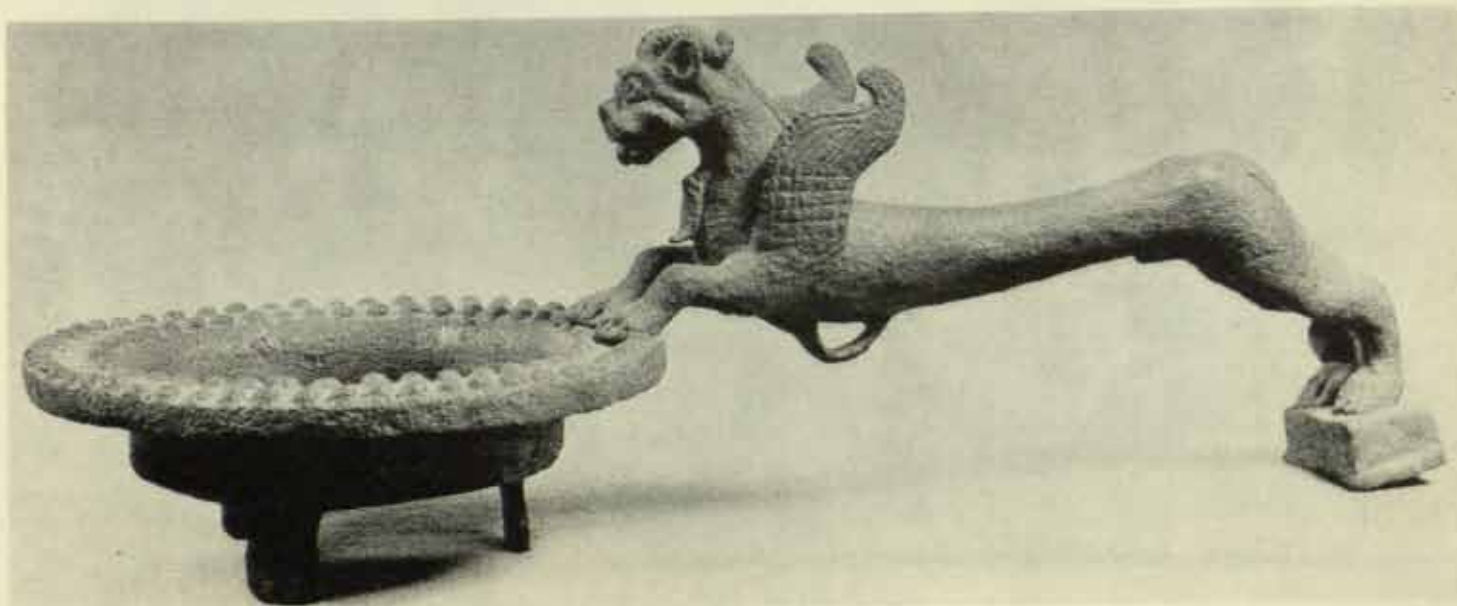
490. Karachi Figurine of Woman. Copper. $3\frac{1}{8}$ "



491. Taxila Earring. Gold. Length $4\frac{7}{8}$ "



492. Taxila Harpocrates. Bronze. 5"



493. Karachi Incense Burner. Copper. $3\frac{3}{16}$ " (to head of lion)



494. Peshawar Kanishka Reliquary. Bronze. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



495. Peshawar *Other View of 494.*



496. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Stūpa. Bronze. 15 1/2"*



497. Taxila *The Buddha in Meditation.* 20"



498. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 7½"



499. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva Siddhārta.* 4¾"



500. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva.* 6¼"



501. Lahore *Head of Bodhisattva*. 5"



502. Karachi *Head of Bodhisattva*. 13 3/8"



503. Taxila *Head of Deity*. 8 1/2"



504. Taxila *Head of Monk*. 6 3/4"



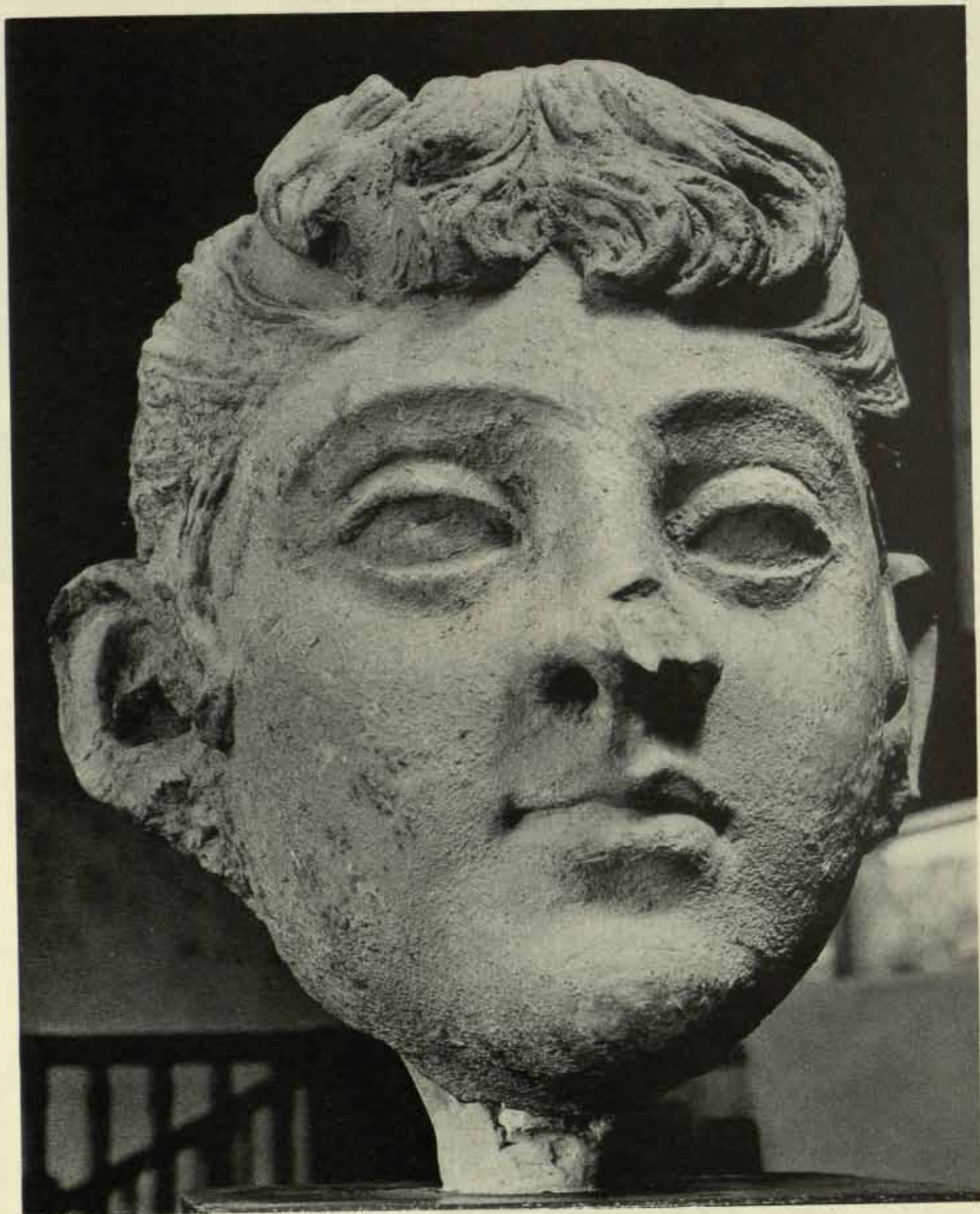
505. Taxila *Head of Ascetic*. 7"



506. Karachi *Head of Bodhisattva*. 5"



507. Karachi *Head of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha*. 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



508. Karachi *Head of Youth*. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



509. Taxila Head of Layman. $7\frac{3}{8}$ "



510. Taxila Female Head Found with 509. $4\frac{3}{4}$ "



511. Taxila Female Head. $7\frac{3}{4}$ "



512. Peshawar *Female Head*. $2\frac{5}{16}$ "



513. Karachi *Female Head*. $4\frac{3}{4}$ "



514. Karachi *Female Head*. 6"



515. Taxila *The Buddha in Meditation.* 13 1/4"



516. Peshawar *Birth of the Buddha.* 4 1/2"



517. Jauliān Monastery, Taxila
The Buddha in Meditation. 12 3/8"



518. Peshawar *The Buddha in Meditation.* 12 3/8"



519. Jaulian Monastery, Taxila *The Buddha in Meditation.*



520. Taxila *The Buddha in Meditation.* 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



521. Jaulian Monastery, Taxila *Three Buddhas in Meditation.*



522. Jaulian Monastery, Taxila *Three Buddhas in Meditation.*



523. Jauliān Monastery, Taxila *The Buddha Preaching.* 23"



524. Taxila *The Buddha Preaching.* 11 3/4"



525. Taxila *The Buddha Preaching.* 10"



526. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 12"



527. Karachi *Head of the Buddha.* 7"



528. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 7½"



529. Lahore *Head of the Buddha.* 13"



530. Karachi *Head of the Buddha.* 7 1/4"



531. Gai Collection, Peshawar *Head of the Buddha.* 25"



532. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 6 1/8"



533. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 21½"



534. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 15"



535. Lahore *Head of the Buddha.* 10 3/8"



536. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 9"



537. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 7 1/8"



538. Taxila *Head of the Buddha.* 6"



539. Karachi *Profile of 540.*



540. Karachi *Head of the Buddha.* 13 3/4"



541. Peshawar *Bodhisattva in Meditation*. 17"



542. Peshawar *Bodhisattva in Meditation*. 18 3/4"



543. Jauliān Monastery, Taxila
Bodhisattva in Meditation.



544. Lahore *Head of Bodhisattva Siddharta*. 8¾"



545. Peshawar *Head of Bodhisattva.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



546. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva.* 9"



547. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



548. Peshawar *Head of Bodhisattva*. 7"



549. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva*. 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



550. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva*. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



551. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva*. 4"



552. Peshawar *Head of Bodhisattva*. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



553. Karachi *Head of Bodhisattva*. $4\frac{3}{4}$ "



554. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva*. 7"



555. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva*. $4\frac{3}{4}$ "



556. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva*. $4\frac{3}{4}$ "



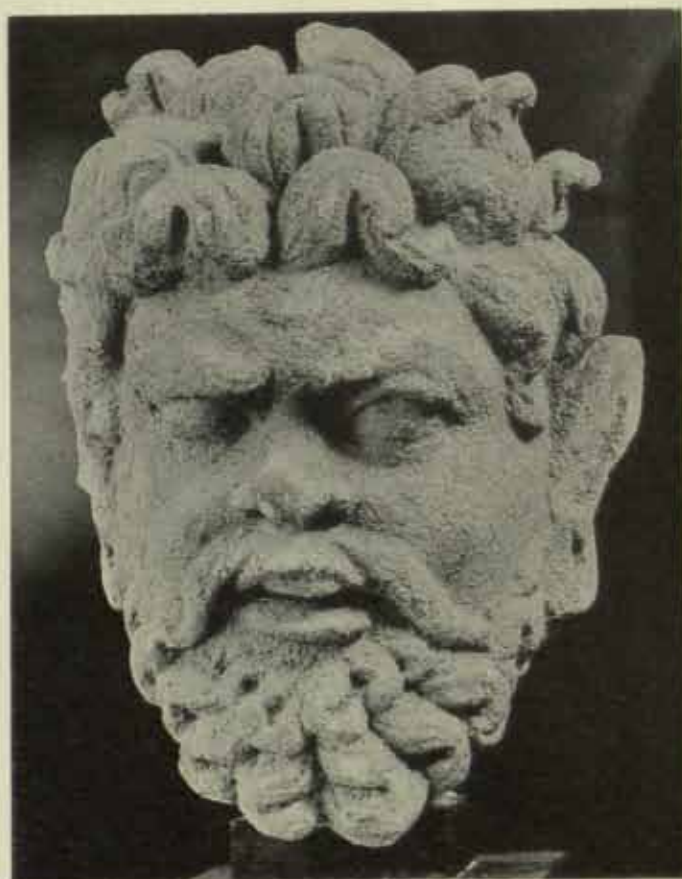
557. Karachi *Head of Bodhisattva*. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



558. Taxila *Head of Bodhisattva*. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



559. Taxila *Head of Deity*. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



560. Karachi *Head of Satyr*. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



561. Peshawar *Statuette of Warrior*. 18¾"



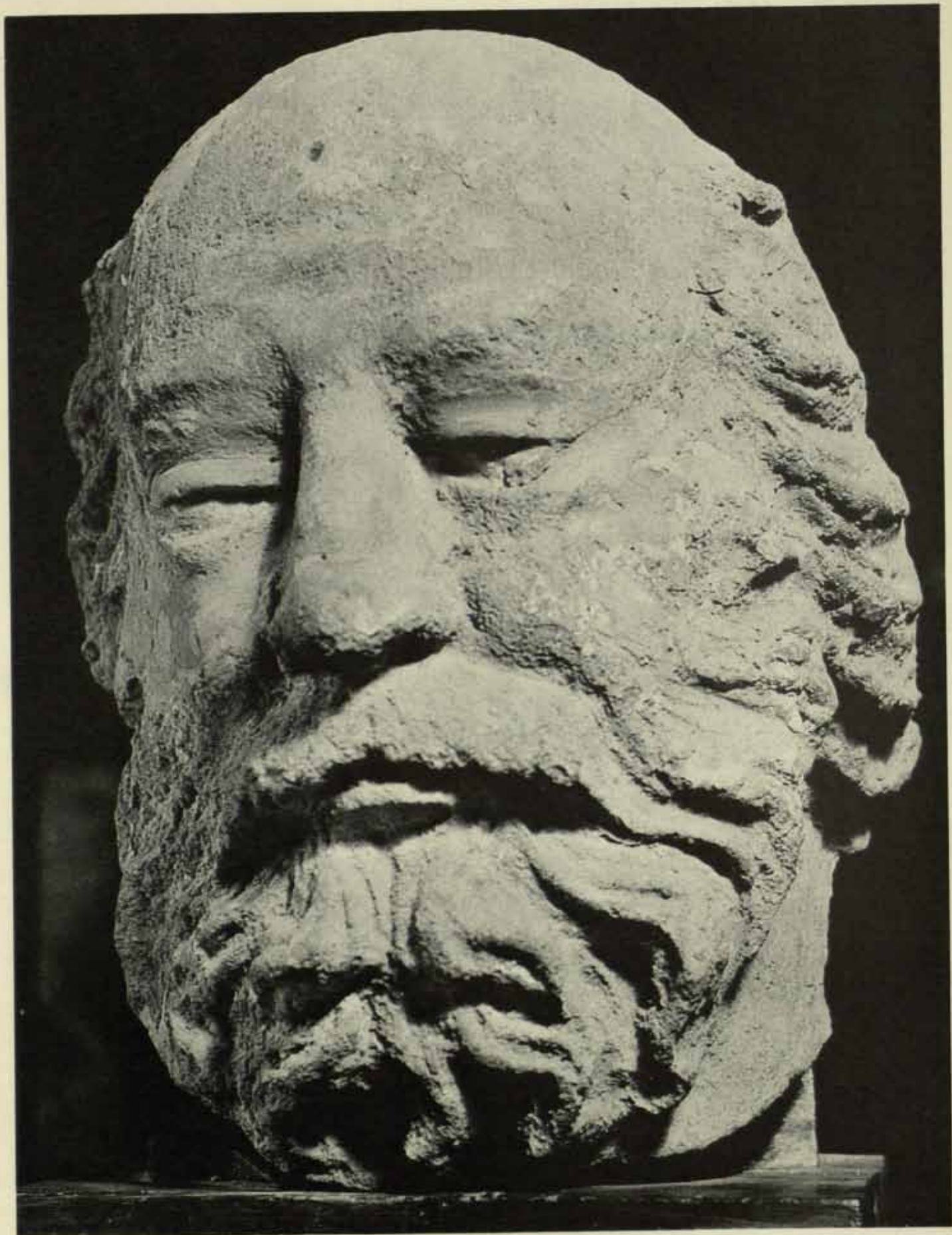
562. Taxila *Boy Attendant*. 7¾"



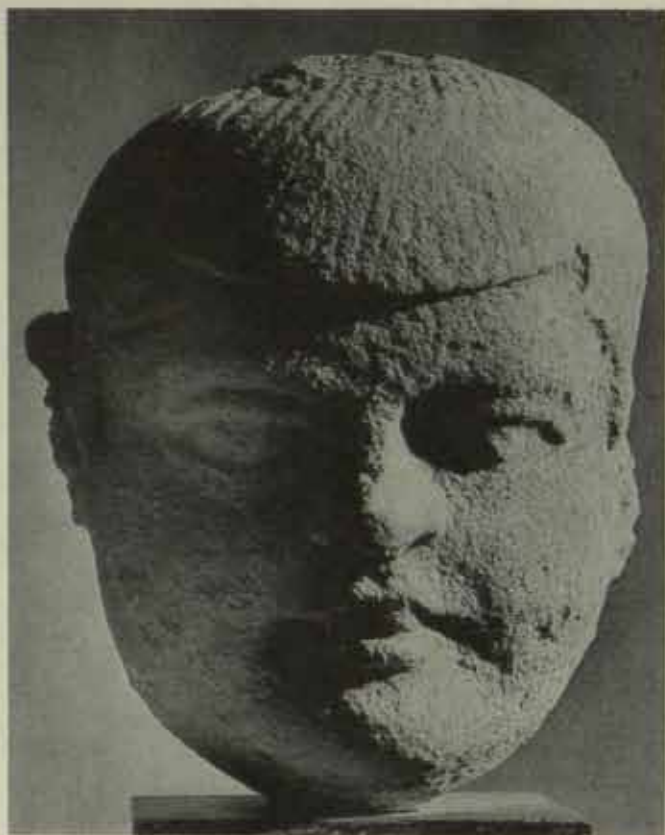
563. Taxila *Kneeling Bodhisattva*. 6¾"



564. Peshawar *Kneeling Bodhisattva*. 8¾"



565. Peshawar *Head of Ascetic*. 10¾"



566. Taxila *Head of Monk.* 6"



567. Taxila *Head of Layman.* 5½"



568. Taxila *Male Princely Head.* 4½"



569. Peshawar *Male Princely Head.* 5¼"



570. Taxila *Head of Ascetic.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



571. Taxila *Male Princely Head.* 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



572. Taxila *Head of Layman.* 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



573. Lahore *Male Head*. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



574. Lahore *Head of Foreigner*. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



575. Lahore *Head of Foreigner*. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "



576. Peshawar *Head of Lion.* 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ "



577. Peshawar *Goddess on Back of Lion.* 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ "



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